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AFRICAN AMERICANS IN AND AROUND JEFFERSON COUNTY



A reprint of an early 20th century publication of the
Jefferson County Historical Society, Inc.

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BLACKS IN AND AROUND JEFFERSON COUNTY, IN

1.

ANTISLAVERY. From an article on file in the Jefferson County Museum. Not in good condition, not all pages in the group. Page one is missing, page two follows:

"Upon no subject has there been so much change in public opinion as that of slavery. A quarter of a century ago, no epithet was so abhorrent as that of an Abolitionist. To be accused of favoring the equality of all men before the law was a greater affront than to be charged with a dishonest action. Particularly was this the case in southern Indiana, where the feelings and principles of their Kentucky neighbors had great influence upon those living upon the northern side of the Ohio River. But the prejudice against the Negro was not confined to any one political party, but was common to all sections and to all parties.

In 1854, Michael C. Garber, for so long the editor of The Madison Courier, and who has since done much to make the antislavery sentiment effective for good in the politics in Indiana, struck a prominent man at the Madison polls on election day, for calling him an Abolitionist. In 1844, James Y. Allison, later Judge of the Jefferson Circuit Court, cast his vote in favor of adopting the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, made an inflammatory speech at Hanover, denouncing the Abolitionist, Matthew R. Hull, to his face, and stood by complacently while a mob of southern students attempted to duck him in the Ohio River. In those days it required more courage to acknowledge oneself in favor of the abolition of American slavery than it did to charge a battery in the face of the enemy. No doubt there were many men of heart in favor of wiping out the stain of slavery from our county's escutcheon but where were they, who had the courage to openly avow it? It is almost impossible for one who is not familiar with the public sentiment of those days to fully realize the change that has come over the people upon the subject of slavery. Men are no longer ashamed to acknowledge themselves when to be so was a practical thing. (Crossed out-Indeed, but few there are, at least in the Republican party, who do not consider such a descent and such a record, things to be proud of.)"

A newspaper contributor (W. H. Tenell) writing of slavery days, in 1870, has this to say about the remarkable change of sentiment that took place in southern Indiana within a comparatively few years; (see the above quotation) "To no part of the state was this truer (to no part of the state was this more accurate than to Jefferson County, with its predominating southern population and its close proximity to Kentucky, so passionately resent any imputation upon the slave system, than those people of Madison who were opposed to it were obligated to maintain absolute silence, or its acts in secret, and, as stated by Mr. Tenell, sentiment on this side of the river, has so extremely opposed to agitating the question which had become the absorbing one in the politics of the country than the antislavery element has practically in the heart of the enemies domain. Notwithstanding these circumstances, the seeds of the great moral movement were sown here and they grew slowly but persistently. (Sheets 4,5, and 6 missing)

Sheet numbered number 6½ next. The minutes of this society, Neal's Creek which we published elsewhere in full, as an anti-slavery document of interest and value, was long in the keeping of Miss Annetta Hoyt, a

daughter of one of the organizers, who treasured it as a family heirloom. The society, Miss Hoyt says, was first talked of by the Nelsons, Hoyts, and Tibbets in her grandfather Nelson's big kitchen and was organized January 5, 1839, with Daniel Nelson as its first president.

Page 7. Neil's Creek, a small stream in Lancaster and Graham Townships, in and about the village of Lancaster, there seems to have been a settlement of people of strong anti-slavery sentiment--the Tibbetts, Hoyts, Nelsons and others, who became the nucleus and made the place a rallying point. The organization was effected January 5, 1839 at a school house on Neil's Creek, northwest of Lancaster and, as shown by the minutes of the society, it held regular meetings here until May 31, 1845, making a total of thirty-five meetings. The society stood for the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in the United States, and characterizing it as "A heinous sin in the sight of God". But it deprecated "Harsh and approprious epithets" against slave holders, as injurious to the cause of emancipation. It also held that the organization of a district Abolition Party "would be injurious, if not fatal, to the cause in which Abolitionists are engaged". Though it afterwards seems to have changed its attitude somewhat, for in February 1841, it passed sundry resolutions, heartily supporting political action and in 1844, it took steps toward organizing a local party and putting in the field a Jefferson County ticket. It protested vigorously against arrogant domination of the south in the halls of congress and uttered its warnings against the dough-faced trimmers of the north, and cried out against the repeated outrages perpetrated in the name of slavery. Moreover it raised its voice against the cowardly pulpit, false to its trust, that remained silent in the midst of wicked and horrible crimes, in brief, the Neil's Creek Anti-Slavery Society, took a courageous and unflagging part in the great fight for human freedom, which has since been set throughout the country.

The minutes in our possession terminate about the time that the Jefferson County political organization materialized, but whether the society ceased then, after its five years campaign, we do not know, neither do we know much about the noble men who promoted and wrought for it. Miss Hoyt suggests that it may have merged into a distinct political party of into the "Underground Railroad" whose actions were necessarily secret.

Anti-Slavery Baptist Church. The records of Neil's Creek Anti-Slavery Society continue until May 1845, and the probabilities are that the meetings were discontinued then or shortly after, for a year later, an anti-slavery church was organized in the same school house, where the society had met and which took a similar name, "The Neil's Creek Anti-Slavery Baptist Church". Its records make no mention of the old society as then existing. The hand of fellowship was extended to Abraham Walton, E. Webster, John Tibbets and Sarah A. Tibbets, "Thus organizing them into a church." This small society gradually increased at succeeding meetings. By the end of that year there were only ten members but its membership grew until 1860 when it numbered 70. To the Articles of Faith, common to the Baptist Church, it added this: "We believe that slavery or the holding of property in human beings is a violation of the principals of Christianity and all moral precepts which God has given to men."

Jer.22:13, Lev. 11:13, James 5:1-7, Song of Sol. 1:506

The lower part of this page is cut off. Also pages between 12 and 22 are missing. Continuing--
Carr and this forbidden by law of trespass to enter the grounds, would prowl with his men around the neighborhood and sometimes enter disguised as beggars and pack peddlers.

What a picture those long past events call forth--the romance, the pathos, the tragedy. With the courage and zeal to form and maintain an Anti-Slavery Society, an Anti-Slavery Church, and an Anti-Slavery School, it was but natural, or but a sequence, that the abolitionists of Jefferson County would have taken some part in that wider and yet more hazardous movement, which in defiance of approbrium and of laws, directly aided the Underground Railroad. The general character of this institution, if such it can be called, is so well known that little time need be said here. Briefly, the facilities into which slaves could escape from slave territory by crossing the Ohio River, and the immunity of recapture, if Canada was reached--opened an avenue for the anti-slavery workers. Hence then came into existence a secret system of cooperation with definite routes, over which fugitives could be clandestinely conveyed to this side of the river. From the secrecy of the operations and the routes, the system became aptly known as the Underground Railroad. The houses along the routes where the run-a-ways were received and forwarded being stations and those actively engaged in conveying them "conductors".

For obvious geographical reasons, the majority of the routes or lines began on the Ohio River and they were particularly numerous throughout Ohio and in eastern Indiana. There was a marked convergence of them in Wayne County, where there was a strong Quaker element. For obvious reasons, also, any chart or exact description of these roads of "Underground" travel is peculiarly liable to error, for what was unknown, except to the initiated few at the time the routes were followed in operation, can scarcely be traced with accuracy a half century later. This is illustrated by comparing the local study and its difficulties with the most elaborate general work that exists upon the subject--i.e. "The Underground Railroad" (sometimes called "Friends") by Professor Wilbur H. Seibert of Hanover College, a valuable and exhaustive work on this subject. Get his charts of the routes from the Ohio River through Jefferson County, to Columbus and Greensburg. Only one (route) roughly appropriate. Moreover, his list of Jefferson County men engaged in the work, as operators, represents scarcely a tithe of the actual number--and several of those best known locally (Chapman Harris and Elija Anderson) are not included in the list. The omission, however, is easily explained by the fact thus: At the time professor Siebert was engaged in collecting his data, it was well nigh impossible to get information from this section, owing to the close proximity to Kentucky.

At various points along the Jefferson County river front from Brooksbury to Marble Hill, linger recollections of dusky fugitives making their furtive way northward. These fleeing slaves not only sought the friends who would help them but they traversed, as far as possible through the wilder parts of the country, where they were least in danger.

Knowledge of the topography obtained verbally from the conductors that had been given him astonished Mr. Brooks. In Saluda Township, old residents tell of Negroes making their way up the rough valley of Fourteen Mile Creek, enroute presumably to the Hanover neighborhood, where lives a group of anti-slavery people. It is said that there were several men in Madison Township who made a business of capturing slaves for the reward.

Chapman Harris' home, at the mouth of Eagle Hollow, three miles above Madison, was perhaps the best known "Terminal Station" in the country,. This was connected with the Kentucky shore by boats secretly manned and before its day, a similar ferriage was conducted at Madison, as unfavorable or exposed a point as that would seem to have been. While most of the fugitives were piloted over the river and started on their way by friends, it is evident that others got over independently and struck the trails in accordance with previous information. A case in point was that of Isiah Brook's man.

These trails leaving the river at various points, converging more or less into definite routes. The different stations or neighborhoods, crossed the county in three or four different sections. There were Quaker settlements in several of the counties north of the Jefferson County line. The only way of locating the routes is by the people who assisted the fugitive over them. One, the Ryker's Ridge route, led from Chapman Harris' at the mouth of Eagle Hollow, to the said ridge where lived the Rykers, Carrs, Ledgerwoods, Torter, Stewards, Van Cleves, Baxters, who were open and prominently in their advocacy of freedom. Thence, the route is said to have continued to the home, or station, of Jesse Lott, a mile or two south of Canaan, and on to Versailles in Ripley County. (Authority-E.B. Bishop, Canaan.)

Another route from C. Harris Station, was by way of the Graham Road to the home of John Wagner (now the property of Thomas Watlington, north of Madison, two miles) whose blacksmith shop stood until recent years. Most of the above named routes were established in the early 40s through the work of surreptitiously aiding runaway slaves began at a much earlier date.

The earliest intimations of the underground work in this county comes through a biographical sketch of George Evans (Negro) published in The Madison Courier (date not given) in its reference to a "secret road" established in 1830, leading from Jeffersonville through Charlestown, Lexington, Vernon, and Greensburg to Newport in Wayne County, where a junction was effected with a road running from Cincinnati to Detroit. George Evans, then living near Hanover, learned of its existence and immediately enlisted his services. Two years later, a change was made in the said route, which, henceforth extended to Evan's home, thereby enabling the latter to conduct the fugitives from that point to Vernon, where connection with the Jeffersonville Road was convenient. Thus, Evan's with the aid of friends in Hanover and Greenbriar, a small negro settlement near Hanover, managed the escape of a considerable number of slaves.

Despite the secrecy with which the underground operations were conducted, there were enough recaptures to justify a suspicion of treachery in the part of the Negroes connected with the system in this locality and consequently a change of routes was made whereby to blind the suspected recreants.

Thenceforth (1837) the slaves were conveyed to this side of the river at a point above the mouth of Clifty Creek thence up the hollow through Pressburg, Wirt, Lancaster and on to Vernon. This route was the construction of John Sering, who became the first station keeper or conductor. (The Anti-Slavery crusade had enlisted several powerful disciples in Madison and Lancaster, among whom John Sering was first and foremost. This contradicts the former statement that the Clifty route existed in the 20s, Sering an operator before the route of the 40s.).

Many reminiscences of slavery days have been handed down by workers in the abolition cause or their descendants. Interesting letters from Miss Annetta Hoyt and Mrs. Lucy Hoyt Thompson, daughter of Lyman and Benajah Hoyt. "Recollections of their childhood days. Miss Annatta Hoyt, to whom we are indebted for the minute book of the Neil's Creek Anti-Slavery Society, in speaking of her father and their abolition neighbors at Lancaster says "The tears come to my eyes as I recall them all, and the unflinching firmness with which they stood to their convictions and were willing to be called by the despised name "Abolitionists" and "Free Soiler" and to leave their comfortable homes in the dead of night to help the poor slave on toward the north star, and to tread him as a man and brother, regardless of the contempt of neighbor opponents." "Times innumerable, she adds, when a child, I was sent to read aloud from the National Era, the abolition speeches of Congress to the dear good old people." "Again and again I have seen them shake their heads saying, "Oh! well, the darkest time is just before the dawn. I used to think within my childish mind, but how do you know this is the darkest time? How do know but there may be a darker time yet to come? I often read to them with quivering voice, the story of Uncle Tom's Cabin, as it came out a serial in the National Era. I was born amidst soul stirring discussions, my earliest memories are of them and I grew up among them. These good men never grew rich" says Miss Hoyt, "but when they died men came from far and near and helped lay them to rest in silent, tender sympathy and respect."

Another item from this writer alludes to a resolution of the Anti-Slavery Society to boycott the products of slave labor. This affected the little folks in the matter of sugar and molasses and "I distinctly remember" says the writer, "that we almost wished they (the parents) would be less conscientious". Mrs. Lucy Hoyt Thompson says that her father, Lyman Hoyt would not use New Orleans sugar or molasses and that he wore only home spun clothes, woolen in winter and linen in summer." Miss Lois Hoyt writes; "As children we heard much and wondered more as to where and for what purpose (page missing).

The most noted of the "Underground Conductors", or workers in the county thus recounts his recollections of those stirring times, and heroic men. "I slept on a trundle bed in my parents room and was frequently awakened by my mother sobbing and my father stealthily leaving or entering the room in the dark. My curiosity, then awakened, was not wholly satisfied for a year or more, during which time, to me, mysterious events recurred. My parents were devoted Baptists, members of the church near by, and I attended regularly the meetings and Sunday School. I heard much of wicked men, thieves, robbers, and murderers, and began to fear that my father must be engaged in some such wicked work, and I used to cry to myself when I heard poor mother crying and because I thought, she was grieving over my

father's wickedness. Finally one morning before daybreak, I overheard part of a whispered conversation between my parent. Father said, "Well, I have got the Negroes, five of them, three men, a woman and a baby, and I don't know what on earth to do with that woman and baby, for the child cries all the time, it is Sunday, some one will be here sure and hear it." Mother quickly replied, "Take them on to Mr. Trotter's, a distance neighbor, He will care for them until night." Whereupon father disappeared in the dawn with his charge. I got up early that morning and as usual made the kitchen fire and went to the barn, ostensibly to perform my duties but really to quietly search for the fugitives, whom I found secreted in the hayloft--three men whom I soon made friends with and learned the story of their escape. On my way back to the house I met my father retuning from the Trotters. He looked at me suspiciously, then back at the barn, whereupon I asked him "What are you looking for?" and he instantly replied, "I'm watching to see that the barn doesn't catch on fire, it would be an awful time for it to burn!" "Sure," I added. When questioned, I disclosed my discovery in the hayloft. Father then explained the whole history, cautioning secrecy. Thus warning that some of the pro-slavery men might kill him, or burn his barn and other outbuildings.

Shortly after this occurrence young Carr was initiated into active work of the organization rendering efficient services for some years.

Of the fugitives who passed over these routes we have obtained limited personal accounts. Some few of them were unusually clad but the greater number were fairly well provided. Others were average in "finery" silks, jewels, etc. both the men and women in some instances. The race instinct for jewelry. The men however usually resorted to stealing money rather than jewelry.

The slaves mostly from Kentucky and Virginia (with possible white blood in their veins), were seldom maltreated by their masters, though a few who passed over the Madison routes bore evidence of cruel punishment. One instance in particular is related. That of a man whose wife lived and worked on a neighboring plantation and whom he was in the habit of secretly visiting (in violation of his master's orders). On one occasion he was detected and was shackled and chained to a post in an old loom house and frightfully lashed every day for a week, in a vain endeavor to extract a promise never to repeat the offence. Determined to die rather than yield, the victim of this brutality refused to take the oath, but one night with the aid of a friend, slipped his shackles and made his escape to the opposite shore to the home of John Carr, under whose kind care, he recovered from the effects of his punishment and he was successfully passed over the route to Canada.

On one occasion some fugitives from the interior of Kentucky, having reached Madison rather late, were hurried into Station # __, conducted by James Stewart, who for a number of years was associated with the Underground Railroad work. A heavy snow and ice had almost precluded transit, particularly on the steep hillside. The circumstances demanded instant action and Stewart's horses, being smooth shod, he immediately secreted the slaves and led his horses down the hill to Wagner's Blacksmith Shop to be roughened, where, to his dismay, he found his pursuers in advance and on the same mission.

Wagner, understanding the situation, made some plausible excuse for serving Stewart first, thus delaying the Kentuckians until the conductor, with his human charges, was far ahead of them and soon at the station beyond. On his return home, Stewart was overtaken by the pursuers who, confident of capturing the fugitives, demanded of him to halt, at the same time firing a revolver. Whereupon the Abolitionist calmly called out that he had no time to stop and proceeded over the hill. The Kentuckians, after firing several ineffective shots, gave up the quest and recrossed the river.

An amusing story is related of the Rev. Thomas Hicklin, who, with his brother Lewis, rendered great service in Jefferson County for the cause. Demonstrating the diplomacy to which the underground operators sometimes had recourse--A bond woman, on her way to Canada, had been received in the home of the minister and after resting and eating her supper was hurried on her way. Within a half hour after her departure her Kentucky master appeared at Hicklin's door demanding his "woman". In a calm voice, the minister said that she was not there, whereupon the white man denouncing him a liar, threatened his life. With all assurance and coolness Mr. Hicklin asked, "Is she your wife?" "No" replied the startled master. "Is she your sister?" He asked and received a negative reply. "Is she your daughter?" "NO" replied the enraged owner, "She is my slave!" "Oh!" said Hicklin innocently. "I do not harbor slaves." "I thought from your manifest interest she must be your wife or near relative." The Reverend gentleman then prevailed upon the caller to dismount and partake of his hospitality. The invited Kentuckian thus became engaged in interesting conversation and several hours, precious hours to the pursued, passed ere he bade farewell to his engaging host and made for the Kentucky side.

On one occasion a party of slaves composed of six men, one woman and her child, crossed the river just as their pursuers made their appearance on the opposite shore. The latter hastily crossed and followed the party, which was in the charge of George and Henry Harris (sons of Chapman Harris) in Eagle Hollow. Here the men fled up the narrow ravine and escaped the pursuers but the woman and child, piloted by Henry, were overtaken. Harrie refused to give up his charge and single handed fought the posse, felling the leader and beating him into insensibility. During the encounter the woman and child were seized by the other men of the posse, who with a shot gun drove off the husky Harris and with their disabled leader and fugitive woman and child, returned to the Kentucky side.

A story with a touch of the romantic, if not heroic not unromantic, in underground annals, is that of a Negro boy and his sister, who having escaped from their master's plantation, succeeded in crossing the Ohio and searching an underground station, arriving at this point on a Saturday night, whence they were to have been conveyed to the next station. It so happened that the young conduction in charge was in the habit of calling upon his sweetheart regularly on Sunday evening, and the visit, being thus interrupted by the late arrival, he called Sunday afternoon instead. His explanation of the circumstances, not being altogether ingenious possible, since his lady love's curiosity, if not suspicious, was keenly aroused. The young man was wheedled into disclosing the actual facts, but under the promise of strict secrecy. Immediately upon his departure however, the young

woman hastened to share the confidence with her father, who, with an eye to the reward, waylaid the fugitive that night. The boy made his escape but the girl was captured and returned to her master, who sold her to a Louisiana slave holder. After a lapse of 12 years, the brother worked his way back to his old master's plantation in the south, bent upon the liberation of his sister. Disturbed on learning her absence in far away Louisiana, but still determined to follow his quest, he proceeded on the journey and after a long search located the girl. Several months later the two appeared in Madison, having walked all the way from the Gulf of Mexico. Subsequently they went to Canada where the girl eventually married. After the Civil War, she, with her husband, returned to Jefferson County and made their home on Ryker's Ridge among the friends who had harbored her in her former years.

One of the most audacious escapes affected in this locality was by John Carr from the clutches of the sheriff, Rea the famous slave catcher. The plucky officer had surrounded four men in a thicket on upper Eagle Hollow with a posse of almost one hundred men. For three days and nights the fugitives were hemmed in with the intention of starving them into surrendering. When conductor Carr, unobserved, slipped into the thicket and at an opportune moment led the captives out through a narrow ravine and before the escape was discovered, the fugitives were well on their way north.

Anti-slavery workers. Appended to the original minutes of the Neil's Creek Anti-Slavery Society, we find the following items regarding some of the active anti-slavery workers in the Lancaster neighborhood. They were, we believe, passed by Miss Annette Hoyt, whom we have previously referred to. Miss Hoyt says that Daniel Hovey Nelson, her grandfather, and James his brother, came to Jefferson County from Vermont in 1820, and were followed by Lyman Hoyt and his family from the same place, and yet later by Lyman's younger brother, Benjamin. "A soldier's claim on Neil's Creek brought James Nelson from Vermont", says Miss Lois Hoyt, and this informant adds, "I think the Tibbetts brought the anti-slavery doctrine to Jefferson County from Ohio. They were originally from Maine. The Nelson, Hoyts, and Tibbetts were related with each other by marriage. The daughters of Lyman Hoyt. Mrs. Thompson writes that her father was one of the most active operators of the Underground Railroad and she speaks of a cave on their place, the entrance to which was concealed by rushes, was not more than three feet in diameter. In this, the owner harbored many fugitives, carrying them food, etc. after night. As illustrating her father's humanity, she relates that on one occasion a slave owner was persuaded upon to dismount and stay to dinner, her father beguiled him with entertainment and conversed while the slave was putting space between them. Miss Annette Hoyt tells of the awe and wonder aroused in the younger ones by the mysterious invisible "Underground Railroad". "Once she says, my younger sister and I were taken to Madison. We went down the hill next to the railroad cut and she, gazing into the cut, exclaimed with interest and gratification over the discovery, 'There is the Underground Railroad'"

Of the Negroes who passed over the various routes, some were miserably clad, but the greater number, it is said, were fairly well clothed and not a few were arrayed in finery, which, evidently they had purloined from their masters or mistresses. The women, especially, betrayed their thefts by the exhibition of

jewelry and fine rayment. A woman passed through Madison in 1859 wearing four silk dresses, which, it was ascertained, she had stolen from her master's daughter.

The great majority of fugitives, of course, came and went, leaving no further trace of them but now and then fuller knowledge discloses noble traits. Already recounted is the story of the brother, who twelve years after he had escaped to Canada, returned in search of his slave sister. He found her in Louisiana and managed her escape with him to the land of refuge.

An old Negro, sick and almost frozen, who passed through the Hoyt neighborhood, was provided by Mr. Hoyt with an overcoat, which, almost a year after reaching Canada, he returned the garment to the owner in good condition.

Of the free Negroes residing here, Chapman Harris and his sons, Elijah Anderson, George Evans and George the Baptist, possessed abiding zeal for the cause of humanity. Harris is described as a big, powerful fellow, utterly fearless and of great determination. In his defiance of the slave-chasers, he was ably reinforced by several sons (the writer says four of them) an Amazonian wife, the latter also noted for strength and courage. Their cabin was at the mouth of Eagle Hollow, three miles above Madison and at this point many fugitives were ferried across the river. By a system of signals, strikes of an anvil, Harris would communicate with his assistants on the Kentucky side, two of them being Negroes, John Scott and William Riale. There are many traditions but one newspaper correspondent who wrote while Harris was still alive, an apparently from an interview with him, says that the signals on his side were effected by striking with a heavy stick a large resonant iron plate. By this system of signals it seems, was communication to and fro, when there were run-a-ways on the Kentucky side and thus indicate when it was safe for them to cross. The writer also speaks of a huge sycamore tree near Harris' place which was sometimes used as a hiding place for refugees. The Harris family was instrumental in helping many fleeing slaves on their way. Sheet missing here.

Of James Nelson and his part in the Underground Railroad, his niece, Miss Lois Hoyt says; "There was not a more efficient, diligent laborer in the field. He had more leisure and was not so generally suspected as was my father, Lymna Hoyt, and for this reason more of the cases were conducted by him than by any one else. His wife, known as "Aunt Lucy" had an equal zeal in the work and was said to be a woman of great executive ability. The underground work was eventually reduced to a comparative system. It was customary for the slaves to arrive after dark and they were either escorted in direction to the first station, whence they were sent to the next station and so on. Pass-words--indeed a regular code of signals was adopted and through which work the hazardous was enveloped in a halo of romance.

On Neil's Creek, the farmer being a harness maker as well as a farmer, and Dr. Earl Tibbett at North Madison, James Hibner kept a tavern between Dupont and Lancaster, on the old state road and there harbored fugitives and David Hughes, a farmer near Lancaster was also active in the underground work. Of the Rev. Thomas Cravenx, the founder of Eleutherian College and his co-workers in that institution, we have already spoken in our sketch of the school.

John Carr, on Ryker's Ridge, was one of the later but most zealous and efficient of the underground workers. He was a native of Ireland and emigrated to America, landing at Quebec in 1830, where he remained six years, then came west and located on a farm on the ridge, where he married and spent the remainder of his life. Soon after his arrival, he learned that slaves were being brought from Kentucky and conducted to places of safety through the agency of John Sering. Recaptures being common, Mr. Carr's sympathy and services were soon enlisted by the underground operators and he became one of the most ardent of the abolitionists in the county. He and the Baxters and the Clines (the latter residents of adjoining Jennings County) were engaged in the work and the home of each was also called a station. Mr Carr indeed devoted his life to the cause and when the primary arrival on the river was changed from Madison to Eagle Hollow, Carr became one of the most powerful men in the movement. It is said that at one time an organization of slave owners offered a reward of \$5,000 for Carr's body, delivered in Kentucky, dead or alive. Other Ryker's Ridge abolitionists were the Rykers, Ledgerwoods, Almonds, Trotters, and Stewarts, under Carr's able leadership rendered notable service.

Two valuable assistants in the work were James Baxter of Monroe Township, who lived near the Baxter schoolhouse and Isaac Wagner, the blacksmith on Graham Road, previously mentioned. The homes of both were stations. One man whose name to the present time is prominently identified with the underground in this locality was that of Chapman Harris, a Negro preacher, whose cabin home at the mouth of Eagle Hollow, three miles above town, was for years the objective point in the county for Kentucky fugitives.

The chief conductor at the time that Harris entered the service was a Negro names Scott, an engineer at the Milton KY distillery. He was succeeded by William Risley. Near the Harris farm was a huge sycamore tree-the hollow trunk of which he called his depot, at this point was a big rack, he kept an iron plate, weighing perhaps twelve pounds, on which he used to strike the signals with his heavy hickory cane, spiked on the end. At the signal for approaching fugitives, messages were immediately sent along the Ryker Ridge Route, notifying operators. Then, at the psychological moment, Harris' thrilling note would sound in the night, making echoes through the hills and valleys. And then, silent as a procession of ghosts, appeared the guides transferring their cargo to our shore.

Chapman is remembered as a large powerful fellow, as fearless as strong, and of indomitable will. His capacity for this vigilant, secretive work was seemingly unlimited. Even his closest friends and neighbors, who were in full sympathy with the underground work and Harris' part in it, learned nothing of the operations from him.

Wm. Wesley Woolen, then a resident of Jefferson County, and an abolitionist at heart and for years a neighbor of Harris, never elicited from him a word of information or the fact that he was engaged in the enterprise. Mr. Wollen suspected that Harris himself was an escaped slave. Harris was a great fighter when the occasion demanded it and his reputation as such insured many a slave's escape. His wife was also a woman of remarkable courage and strength and between the two, the little cabin in the hollow was something of a hornet's nest for the bellicose slave hunters.

Harris was eager to educate his children but the prejudice against Negro pupils prevented their going to the neighborhood school. One of the sons was given private instruction by Mr. Woolen, for whom he worked, and he later attended the Eleutherian College

There were other Negroes of Jefferson County in the underground service, though Harris is best remembered. One of them was Elijah Anderson, a free born Negro from Lynchburgh, VA, who came to Madison in 1837 and a few years later allied himself with the work. Daring and eminent his services, eventually merited his title "Superintendent of the Underground Railroad". He, too, lived near Eagle Hollow and when the later was made the _____ of deposit, he became the leading man in the work in Jefferson County, (Deposit--landing place of fugitives) managing the routes on Ryker's Ridge and the Graham Road, before John Carr succeeded to that office. His house, like Harris' was a refuge for run-a-ways who were bravely defended while in his charge. For Anderson's body, as for Mr. Carr's, the Kentuckians offered a liberal reward. In contempt of this, Anderson is said to have repeatedly and openly gone to the Kentucky side and to ferry over his illegal cargo. Eventually in 1851, when returning from a trip to Carrollton, KY in the interest of the underground, he was arrested aboard the boat at the Carrollton Landing and by a Negro co-worker for the sake of a reward offered.

Anderson was tried but the evidence was not sufficient to convict him and he was released. He had scarcely left the Carrollton Courthouse, however, before he was re-arrested on a similar charge in Trimble County, directly Madison, whence he was taken, tried again and convicted and was sent to the penitentiary at Frankfort, where he was incarcerated for ten years. On the day of expiration of his service, when his friends and family were momentarily awaiting his liberation, he was found dead in his prison cell, the victim of foul play, it is believed. In his long time of underground service, in Ohio and Indiana, Anderson is said to have assisted in the rescue of almost one thousand bondmen. There is also mention of a William Anderson (Negro) doubtless a relative of Elijah but of whom we have nothing further.

Another capable and faithful Negro who rendered enestimable service to the Underground Railroad was George De Baptiste, claimed to have been Gen. Harrison's body servant, both before and after the latter was elected to the presidency and to have held the General's head when he breathed his last. DeBaptiste afterwards came to Madison and for six years conducted a barber-shop, after which, he became connected with the Underground Railroad and was largely responsible for the successful escape of many slaves. In his frequent visits to the Kentucky plantations, DeBaptiste at once organized the free blacks in those localities and instructed the slaves as to the methods of escape. About 1846, DeBaptiste removed to Detroit and there continued to assist fugitives into Canada.

Other names connected with the Underground Railroad and recalled by some of our oldest residents are those of John Carter, Philander Winchester, Griffith Booth, Wm. Phelps, George White, and Joe O'Neal, most of them Negroes. O'Neal, after a period of valuable service, turned traitor, selling information to the planters. In consequence of this, it is said, the route was changed from the landing place, then at the mouth of Clifty Creek to that of Eagle Hollow. Just before the Civil War, Henry Ward Beecher and Mrs. Rebecca Whitehead, whose farm he visited, were interested in the abolition work in Madison.

(This ends the numbered pages, many of which are missing. The following is an unnumbered sheet, in the handwriting of Miss Druscilla Cravens. I do not know whether it was intended to be included in the above article or not. W.S.D.)

Griffith Booth (colored) died in Kalamazoo, Michigan 1 July 1889. He was for years identified with the Underground Railroad, and during the days of slavery, assisted many Negroes in escaping to Canada. It was the energy with which he worked the road that necessitated his leaving here, to take refuge in Canada in 1848, where he remained until the war of the rebellion made it possible for him to return in safety. Born a slave, he knew the burden of the yoke. He lived here for many years. It was he whom Marshal Anize Foster and John Sheets rescued from a mob at the risk of their lives. On one occasion, he had been dipped into the river until life was almost extinct in order to force him to divulge the hiding place of some slaves.

For years the faithful coachman of Mr. Victor King, later employed in the old Banner as pressman, during Mr. D. Jones' time when the paper was printed on the old fashioned hand press, the writer was both roller boy and devil.

(The following article is typewritten, no signature of date given)
George DeBaptiste, born in Frederichsburg, VA about the year 1815, went when a mere boy to Richmond, entered the barber shop and learned his trade as barber. When about 18 years old, he became the servant of a man named Amos, a sporting man, who traveled about the country a great deal and had his home in Alabama. He remained with Amos until Amos' death, after which DeBaptiste returned to Richmond and married in 1838 and removed to Madison, Ind., where he carried on the business of trading with Cincinnati, occasionally running to and fro from the two places on a steamboat. While engaged in this business, he chanced to fall in with Gen. Harrison, afterwards president of the United States, and became his servant, traveling with him during his political campaign in 1840. Upon the inauguration of Gen. Harrison, as president of the United States, DeBaptiste was appointed by Harrison Steward of the White House. He was greatly attached to the president and attended him constantly during his last sickness, supported the general's head in his arms when he breathed his last. Shortly after, DeBaptiste returned to Madison and opened a barber shop, where he lived some seven years, removing to Detroit in 1846. There he purchased a barber shop but did not work at the trade himself but engaged in other occupation. He afterwards purchased the steamer "T. Whitney", whose route was from Detroit to Sandusky. Under the law, a colored man could not get a license to run a steamboat and he employed Capt. Atwood to manage it, while he ran with it to attend to her business and freight. He sold the steamer and went into the catering business. During the war he was instrumental in raising a colored regiment for military service. He enlisted a large number of men in Detroit.

The most interesting part of Mr. DeBaptiste's life was while he was connected with the so called Underground Railroad, which, as most of our readers know, was a secret organization formed during the days of slavery to assist slaves to escape from the slave states into Canada. DeBaptiste became connected with this organization while he lived in Madison and has aided hundreds of Negroes to escape from their masters and take refuge in the (end of sheet ended thus).

After DeBaptiste removed from Madison to Detroit he still maintained his connection with the Underground Railroad. As soon as runaways arrived in this city, he found them out and immediately got them across to Canada. A year or two after his removal here, he happened one day to be at the depot just as a train on the Michigan Central Railroad arrived, and there saw a colored man, whom he had brought across the river at Madison and piloted as usual to his first stopping place. The man had come as far as Hillsdale County in this state, and there having secured employment remained. His master had by some means learned of his whereabouts, and came with several men to take him back. The Negro was arrested but by some means escaped from his captors and fled. The report of his arrest and escape reached this city and his master at once came to watch for his appearance here to cross the river by ferry, when he intended to capture him. It luckily happened that DeBaptiste was at the depot when the man arrived and securing a small boat got him across to Canada very speedily. On another occasion an attempt was made to take back a family of five colored persons, named Crosswaite, who after escaping had settled at Marshall in this state. Their former owner, with others, had come to capture them and after they had done so, the Crosswaithes were rescued by the citizens, including the honorable Charles T. Gorham, then a resident and attorney of Marshall, afterwards United States Minister at the Hague. They were sent on through this city and DeBaptiste having been informed of their expected arrival met them at the depot and soon after had them taken to Canada. The owner of the slaves sued Mr. Gorham in the United States Court in this city and recovered judgement against him of over \$5,000, the value of the runaway slaves. The judgement with costs of the suit, however, was paid by subscription among the antislavery people of this state. DeBaptist being one of the most liberal subscribers to the fund.

The above are a few of the many incidents that might be related of DeBaptist's experiences at the time it was lawful for one man to own his fellow man. Since the close of the war, he has labored zealously for the improvement of the colored people of this city. He strove earnestly to procure the admission of colored children into the public schools on the same footing with white children. After the passage of the 15th Amendment, he was instrumental in getting up the grand celebration of the event by the colored people here, and that day he counted as the happiest of his life.

He was a most ardent friend and admirer of the late Gerrit Smith and one of the last acts of his life was to write a caustic and telling reply to an article which he deemed an insult to the memory of Mr. Smith in comparing him with the late Mr. Lamar, a former slave holder of Georgia, which appeared over his signature in the Detroit Tribune about ten years ago.

During the hot days of antislavery when Garrit Smith visited Detroit, on several occasions he consulted with Mr. DeBaptiste relative to the workings of the "Underground Railroad" and contributed liberally to the funds of that association. DeBaptiste used to say that Mr. Smith had several times offered to give a farm to him of several acres near his own home in Peterborough, N.Y., well stocked with horses and cattle and supplied with all the necessary utensils for the working of it, if he, DeBaptiste, would go there and live upon it but he refused the offer. Mr. DeBaptiste was a member of the Baptist Church on Grogar Street and his funeral will take place from that church tomorrow at three o'clock

(The following is in the hand writing of Miss D. Cravens, no date.)

A pioneer Abolitionist here in Jefferson County was Philander Winchester, who also was a Temperance Reformer, who died in Detroit in April 1879. He was the leader in the famous rescue of Milton Clark in the days when the recapturing of escaping slaves was protected by federal law.

Lewis and Milton Clark, fugitives, (the former is the character of George Harris of "Uncle Tom's Cabin") had gone to Madison from Oberlin, Ohio on Mr. Winchester's invitation to relate the story of his escape, etc. to the Anti-slavery meeting. Milton was there siezed by men claiming to be his owner. Winchester thereupon rallied the Antislavery men, cut the ropes that bound the slaves, and after the rescue, exchanged clothes with both fugitives and thus managed their escape. He lived near Dupont at the time of the Morgan Raid and when Morgan's men were taking off all the horses along their way, they attempted to sieze a vicious stallion, belonging to Winchester and which no one save the owner could ride or control. With great difficulty, a number of the raiders got the animal from the stall and on attempting to ride him, one after the other was violently thrown. Mr. Winchester appearing on the scene as a farm hand, volunteered to show them how to "sit" and hold a rein on him. Eager to understand the animal, Morgan told the farmer to mount. Winchester did so, rode the horse up and down the lane a few times but in the final dash disappeared from the rebel gang like an arrow, who followed him with bullets until he was out of sight.

Mr Winchester was a strong union man. During the Civil War, tireless in his efforts for the Union soldier and their families--and since the war is said to have performed gratuitously the duties of a pension claim agent. During his residence in Madison, he lived in the James W. Thomas house (opposite second church). His wife, while here, was thrown from a carriage at Second and Mulberry and almost killed.

Madison Courier, 15 June 1874. ANTI-SLAVERY MEN.

Molly Anderson, a school teacher in Frankfort, her father, for many years watched and waited over the border to help Kentucky fugitives to land near Madison, also near Bedford. "The schooner that runs the hazards of the shoals gets wet at last." At the June term 1857, Trimble County, "Sends up to Frankfort, Elijah Anderson, a free man of color, felony, received 18 June 1857 term expires February 1866, intemperate, 49 years old, education poor, from Virginia, blacksmith, married, 5', 9½" tall, 139 pounds, complexion black, eyes black, born Kentucky, scar on nose between eyes, two or three scars on right wrist, one on inside of right knee, one outside of right foot, died in cell 4 March 1861." Now, the daughter, who follows teaching, desires that this error as to "intemperate habits" may be corrected. The dead hero and his wife were temperance; The man a son of temperance. Also, let this credit entry as to the keepers of this prison, coming from the dead man to his daughter, and from her to the commercist, speak as colored testimony. "On entering the prison, the martyr, having been weighed "in his buff" was asked his trade, "Blacksmith, that of fancy ironing of carriages." There having been no skilled workman of this kind known in the annals of the prison, and the keeper being rather straightened of some contracts, gladly laid hold of the old man and never laid a lash on him. Besides the manhood of the prison officer, even then, made them respect the black lover of his race. "Damn a Nigger who would not". On the morning of the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, this hero died in his cell. Now the manhood of the prison again showed itself in their respect for this good old black man, who earned them so much. His daughter, aided by Peter Smith, a freed man, obtained from out of the graveyard, her father's body and the bones of the hero repose in Morgan Temple, Lexington, Ky.

Miss Druscilla Craven's letter continued.

You will find some Underground Railroad matter in my two scrapbooks besides what you may have in other newspaper articles elsewhere. There is, somewhere, an article on Elijah Anderson, though I think I have incorporated about all there need be of him, excepting the incidents illustrative of his boldness--see Grayson's article.

And in regard to Delia Webster--after I had complied what I have said of her--I read a column from a Kentucky paper which left little doubt in my mind as to her real character, that she could not have been a good woman. But need we--even for history shad, be so accurate as to make any further allusion than I have by saying something about her "shadowed reputation". I don't, of course, want to offend my good neighbors across the river, so beg you to review closely my feeble efforts.

Abolitionism. An old document brought to light. 1892.

During the recent visit of our old friend, Rev. John G. Craven, now of Beloit, Kansas, to this county and city, he gave us the manuscript of the original for the first great Anti-Slavery Convention at Indianapolis, with the names of the signers to the call for the same. There were, besides the names appended, quite a number of others who rendered efficient service in promoting the object of the convention--notably the late Judge Stephen C. Stevens, of this city. Prof. Craven is remembered by many of the Courier readers as President of the Eleutherian College, at College Hill, this county. We append the full text of the call;

1. The lovers of our Lord Jesus Christ who are laboring for the advancement of His kingdom, are invited to meet in convention at Indianapolis on the fourth Tuesday in May next at ten A. M. to ascertain by what means we can most successfully array the moral power of religion, the church and our benevolent organizations against the system of American slavery, which has recently infringed so seriously upon the rights of our consciences, which has always disregarded the consciences of the slave, and which now presents an almost insurmountable barrier to the progress of pure religion throughout our beloved county. Shall we "For whom to live is Christ" count any sacrifice too great by which we shall be instrumental in making our land Emmanuel's land and our fellow citizens and the poor slaves fellow heirs of immortal life? Come then brethren and sisters, "Come up to help of the Lord, against the mighty."

2. On the 29th of May a convention will assemble of the friends of human rights, who believe that the federal government was instituted for the purpose of rights and who are opposed to the revolutionary party, who are aiming to employ it to make war upon human rights and who are willing to appeal to the public conscience and sympathy in behalf of the colored portion of the population of this state, inasmuch as their rights and best interests are seriously threatened by certain clauses which it proposed to adopt in the new constitution, let the patriot and the Christian put forth his utmost exertion to save our beloved state and country from the reproaches of the world and the judgement of a just God.
Signed at College Hill, Jefferson County, Indiana 1851

John G. Craven, James Nelson, James M. McGomery, James P. Brown, R. R. Clark, Angus McKay, John P. Brown, Nehemiah Stites, E. B. Rogers, Martha W. Craven, Barbara M. Thompson, Margaret McKay, Lucy Hoyt, Mary Hoyt, Esther McKay, Barbara McKay, Mary McKay, Emaline Stites.

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD, From Slavery To Freedom. Madison A Leading Station of The Line. An Exciting Episode Recalled. Courier 22 February 1899.

Madison was once the leading border station on the line of the Underground Railroad, and many a poor slave, seeking his freedom, crossed the river here and was passed along the lint to liberty, long before President Lincoln's immortal proclamation which emancipated the entire four millions of black men then in bondage. From time to time, the Courier has made mention of those who operated the Underground Railroad in this locality, most of whom have since paid the debt of nature. We notice in this week's issue of the Greensburg "Standard" a statement by Mr. Charles T. Powner, that a recent research among the early papers of Decatur County in the court house at Greensburg had brought to light an old document endorsed as follows; "George Ray's affidavit to arrest slaves. Filed November 3, 1847. Henry H. Talbott, Clerk, Andrew Davidson, Prosecuting Attorney". George Ray was a slave owner, whose home was in Trimble County, KY. Mr. Talbott was the first clerk of Decatur County, elected when the county was organized in 1822 and serving continuously thirty-eight years. Dr. Davidson was a prominent attorney and became well known as one of the judges of the Indiana Supreme Court. But, the interest of this old document is found in its relation to Mr. Ray, and his subsequent actions found on the affidavit contained therein and reads: "Indiana, Decatur County, Be it remembered that on this day personally appeared before me, the undersigned Clerk of the Decatur Circuit Court, George Ray of Trimble County, and state of Kentucky, who being duly sworn, on oath says that he has just claim to certain slaves or colored persons, of the names and descriptions following, to wit: Caroline, a negro woman of the age of about thirty years; Frances, a mulatto girl, of the age of about twelve: John, a mulatto boy of the age of about six years: Mandy, a mulatto girl of the age of about four years: and Henry, a colored boy about twenty months old. That this deponent is the owner of said above slaves under the laws of the said state of Kentucky, that the slaves deserted and escaped from his service and labor, and became fugitives from such service and labor, in the county of Trimble and state of Kentucky, foresaid, on the 30th day of October 1847, and are now fugitives from such service and labor. And that said slaves are all, at this time, as deponent verily believes in and within the county of Decatur and state of Indiana, and this deponent as the owner of said slaves is desirous of arresting said slaves and conveying them back to said Trimble County according to law and further he sayeth not. "Sworn to before me, the undersigned clerk of Decatur Circuit Court, this 3 Day of November 1847. Henry H. Talbott, Clerk.

The rapidity with which the passengers of the Underground Railroad were transported may be estimated by recalling the facts that this woman and her four children, the youngest less than two years old, had left their home in Kentucky on October 31, and were four days later in the extreme northern part of Decatur County, seventy-two hours later they were safe in Canada. The escape, capture, rescue and final escape of this colored woman lack no element of thrilling adventure; while the trial and conviction of the parties assisting her to freedom, from their high standing in social and religious circles, was one of the most interesting and exciting ever witnessed in southern Indiana. On their way north; Leaving the home of Mr. Ray, a few miles from Bedford, KY, Caroline and her children crossed the Ohio River at Madison, and were placed in care of a Mr. Wagner, who carried them to

Decatur County and placed them in the hands of Mr. Douglas McCoy, then a young man living at McCoy's Station and now a highly respected citizen of Greensburg. For many years there had been a colored settlement near Clarksburg in Decatur County, and near this settlement lived Mr. Luther A. Donnell, a man of wealth and a friend of the oppressed. Mr. McCoy received the fugitives about two o'clock in the morning and immediately started for the colored settlement some twelve miles distant, stopping, however, at the home of his friend Mr. William M. Hamilton, to inform him of his errand and secure his assistance. But it soon became evident that daylight would overtake them before they could reach their station, and prompt measures must be taken to conceal the fugitives. Near them was a cabin in which a colored man by the name of Pernell was living. In his care the fugitives were placed. Mr. McCoy returned to the home of Luther A. Donnell for advice and aid. Mr. Donnell proposed going himself to the colored settlement and sending some of the colored people after the fugitives. This he proceeded to do and Mr. Hamilton started to his own home. Pernell, the colored man in whose care the fugitives had been placed, having once been a slave himself, but lacking in the bravery necessary to jeopardize his own interests for the sake of the race, consequently fearing some calamity might befall him if the fugitives were found on his premises, he put them on horses and in broad day light, started for the colored settlement. They were met by Mr. Hamilton, who at once comprehended the danger. He advised that they hurriedly be taken to the home of a colored widow near by, who was known to be always willing to incur any risk in assisting her people. This was done, and Jane Speed received them kindly, concealed them in an old house and sent food to them by her boy during the day, which kindness later caused no end of trouble. The old house at some distance from her dwelling was nearer the residence of one Woodson Clark, a man who had the reputation of being a slave hunter. Clark saw Jane Speed's boy enter and leave the old hut. His suspicions were aroused. He began to search and found the fugitives secreted in the hay. He assured them they were in imminent danger, and proposed conducting them immediately to the colored settlement. He led them to his own house, secreted them in the out buildings of his son, just across the road, and insisted he would send for the colored people to come and convey her northward immediately. The woman was suspicious of treachery. She knew that she was near people of her own race and as it was now night, she left her children and began to search for friends. Being a stranger in a strange land, she soon became bewildered, panic stricken, and an aimless wanderer on a pitch dark night. As soon as it was dark the colored people of the neighborhood assembled at the old hut of Jane Speed, discovered that the fugitives were gone, but by the aid of a lantern, succeeded in finding tracks which led to the premises of Woodson Clark. The place was surrounded, while Mr. Donnell and Mr. Hamilton were again called on to furnish the thought necessary to a successful rescue.

Every man's house is his castle. There could be no search of Clark's premises without due process of law. Hon. John Hopkins, an associate judge of Decatur County, was a neighbor of Mr. Donnell, and from him a writ of habeas corpus was secured, but the county seal was twelve miles distant, without which the writ was void.

The entire neighborhood was now aroused and arrayed on one side or the other and a conflict seemed imminent. One messenger was dispatched to Greensburg for slave hunters and another to secure the county seal and sheriff to serve the writ. The colored men, instigated by the whites, were armed with hatchets, knives, clubs, and firearms, determined that when the sheriff had served the writ and found the fugitives, they would defy the law, overpower him, rescue the mother and children

and place them beyond the reach of foes. But the search proved fruitless and the fugitives were lost to their friends. (Rest of article missing)

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD. Interesting reminiscences of the old slavery days and the deeds of the early abolitionists in Jefferson County. Auretta Hoyt in Indianapolis Journal, January 31, 1880.

"I read with deep interest, two weeks hence, your sketch of the colored man, Chapman Harris, of Madison, and "Incidents in the history of the Madison branch of the Underground Railroad." James Nelson and John Tibbetts, at whose home Harris was accustomed to stop with his fugitives, according to S. G.'s sketch, to "rest and recuperate" and who never failed to do what lay in their power to aid the cause, kept the first station on the Underground Railroad between Madison and Vernon.

Of these, James Nelson, was my mother's uncle, and John Tibbetts was his son-in-law. So earnest was Mrs. Nelson in her devotion to the cause of the oppressed Negro, that her friends used to laughingly say, when she thought very well of a person, "Aunt Lucy thinks he is almost as good as a Negro". She is yet living, very aged, in Kansas. Lyman Hoyt, also mentioned, who assisted them in keeping the station, was my uncle. His widow lives in this city, and her daughter, Miss Lois Hoyt, teacher in the tenth district school, while her sister, Miss Esther, teaches at Brightwood. I distinctly remember an entire colored family by the name of Harris, were received and cared for at Uncle James Nelson's when I was a very little child. I think the father must have been a brother of Chapman Harris, spoken of by the Journal's Madison correspondent and came from Tennessee. He and his family seem to have been free, how I do not know, and came north. I suppose, by the aid of the brother at Madison, encouraged by James Nelson and his co-workers. They settled at Vernon, and the daughters "Letty" and "Ginnie" worked for Aunt Lucy and my grandmother. They were much childish wonder and delight, the first colored woman I had seen and I never tired of their kind novel ways and interesting stories. I once stood by and saw Right Rea, the sheriff of Jefferson County, then widely known for his prowess in tracing fugitive slaves, serve a warrant of arrest upon Uncle James Nelson, under the fugitive slave act, for suspected aid and comfort to some runaway slaves. Nothing was proven, but he may have been just as "guilty" then as in numberless other instances.

But, back of the establishment of this branch of the Underground Railroad" is a history which I take a daughter's loving pride and pleasure in resurrecting. My maternal grandfather, Daniel Hovey Nelson, and his brother James, came to Indiana from Vermont in 1820, settling twelve miles northwest of Madison. They, with my grandfather's stalwart "Greenmountain Boys" helped level the forests and clear out the wolves and other "varmints: from southern Indiana, building their own house, making their own farming implements and household furniture, while their wives spun and wove their clothing. Ten years later, Lyman Hoyt came from the same place, and fifteen years later my father, Benjamin Hoyt, then unmarried, came. He, with a younger brother, Walter, were assistant engineers in constructing the Madison incline plane and the Madison railroad to Columbus.

In 1839, the first anti-slavery society in Jefferson County, and, so far as I know, in southern Indiana, was organized at Neil's Creek School-house which stood between the houses of James and Daniel Nelson, on ground deeded by them for a school house and burying ground forever. The society was first talked of by the Nelsons, Hoyts, and Tibbettses in my grandfather's large kitchen and common living room, after the county fashion of those days, and organized January 5, 1839, two years after the murder of Owen Lovejoy, I believe.

My grandfather was made its first president and so continued to the end, except two years in which Abraham Walton and Samuel Tibbetts respectively held the office. John Tibbetts and my father alternately held the secretaryship. One of our family heirlooms has been the book of minutes of this society, which, since reading your sketch, I have searched out of the depths of an old Vermont spruce chest, where our family archives have been kept, and have examined it with deep interest. It covers time from January 5, 1839 to May 31, 1845. It is yellow with age, and various notes and resolutions on the original slips and in the original hand, which were handed in at meetings, together with the memoranda of my father's business, I find between the leaves where he placed them. Of course, I read this book with very partial eyes, but it seems to me there is much in it of general interest, as a part and sample of the growth of the anti-slavery struggle, and I note a few points: the constitution shows that it was "Auxillary to the Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society".

Article two says: "The object of the society shall be the entire abolition of slavery in the United States. While it admits that each state in which slavery exists has by the constitution of the United States the exclusive right to its abolition in said state. It shall aim to convince all our fellow citizens by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slave holding is a heinous sin in the sight of God and that the duty, safety, and the best interests of all concerned, require its immediate abandonment without expatriation. The society will also endeavor, in a constitutional way, to influence congress to put an end to domestic slavery in all those portions of our common country which come under its control, especially the district of Columbia, and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any stat that may hereafter be admitted to the union".

Article three. The society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their intellectual, moral and religious improvement, and by removing public prejudice, but this society shall never in any way countenance the oppression in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force."

One of the officers of the society was a librarian, and the minutes, further on, show that books and documents were purchased for circulation.

My father's name is first on the list of members and my grandfather's next. The roll contains eighty-two names, twelve of them my relatives, wither by blood or marriage, and I am proud of such philanthropic blood in my own veins, on both sides. My mother and my grandmother's names are on this roll, as well as those of three aunts. Also, the name of Mrs. Helen Rockwood, of this city, who, with her husband recently deceased, resided then at Wirt, Jefferson County. On my father's grave stone were placed the words!

"The stranger could not know his worth but to his friends, his memory is his best epitaph."

"Underground Railroad" by Aurette Hoyt in Indianapolis Journal 31 January 1880.

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"Abolition Days" Building of Eleutherian College near Lancaster. By Paul Dowell

The Madison Courier, Madison, Indiana. August 12, 1912.

On a small knoll overlooking the village of Lancaster, Indiana, stands what remains of the Eleutherian College, founded in 1851 by Thomas Craven, A.M. This interesting relic of the days of abolition was once a thriving institution, with a yearly attendance of more than 100 students, including both Negroes and whites.

When the famous Underground Railroad was being operated by Negro sympathizers, the Eleutherian College was regarded as one of the most important stations. As nearly as can be learned from those who were once on the "inside", the college was the third station of the Madison route, which began at a small settlement known as Bee Camp, a few miles above Madison on the Ohio River. (He probably refers to "Eagle Hollow" W.S.D.)

In charge of this first station was a Negro blacksmith, Chapman Harris, by name. The fugitive slave, on arriving at the northern Kentucky border, were then taken by four stalwart sons of Harris and ferried across the river in cover of darkness. Harris himself, on the Indiana shore giving signals by striking the anvil if the coast was clear. After being kept here for a day, the runaway Negroes were sent on to the next station, which was located on the Hanover Road, a mile below Madison. (Clifty Creek).

This old house, which was torn down four year ago, was a one story building, the west end of which contained a large stone chimney. A few feet above the fireplace in this chimney there was a secret compartment where the Negroes could be hidden if necessary.

From here they were taken over the hills to Lancaster and the college. The more intelligent of the Negroes were educated here before being sent on to the Canadian border. Across the road from the college stood a barn owned by a man named Tibbett, a fiery abolitionist, under the barn there was a small cellar opening into a blind tunnel. In case operations were suspected and a search instituted, the Negroes were placed in the tunnel, while hay was thrown down from the loft, filling the cellar and concealing the entrance. After the searchers had departed, the Negroes resumed their studies at the college.

Owing to the extreme danger of information leaking out through various channels, there were but a few blacks educated until after the Civil War had ended. It was the first school of higher education in the United States in which whites and Negroes were placed on equal terms. In this respect it was the forerunner of the famous Berea College in Kentucky, which, until a few years ago, numbered many Negroes among its students.

The college consisted of a dormitory and a larger building containing the class rooms. The two buildings were similar in shape and construction, both having been rectangular and build of rough stone.

What was once an assembly room or chapel takes up the entire first floor of the larger structure. One half of this is now used as a public school room by the village of Lancaster. On the second floor are six class rooms while the third floor is unfinished. The dormitory contains twenty rooms, each large enough to accomodate two persons. The most careful inquiry among the residents of Lancaster failed to ascertain whether or not whites shared rooms with Negroes. These two buildings were erected by Thomas Craven, after years of toil and struggle and against adverse circumstances. On horseback, he traveled through the country lecturing and campaigning for funds with which to carry on the work. Finally enough money was obtained to erect one building. This first structure was the one used as a dormitory. Classes were held here until the main hall was completed. After the college had gotten its start, there yet remained the problem of obtaining funds for its maintenance and Craven again entered on his weary round of lectures, which lasted until he died in 1860.

Work at the college continued for twenty-two years after his death. It was finally forced to close its doors for lack of support.

The records of this quaint institution have been destroyed, evidently, for no trace of them can be found. The son of Thomas Craven was one of the instructors in the school, as also were Professors Hoyt, Blynn, and Brasseton. The names of other instructors can not be obtained.

Thomas Craven is buried in College Hill Cemetery and his grave is marked by a marble slab, bearing this inscription: "Elder Thomas Craven, A. M. A Christian Reformer and Philanthropist, with his son, founded The Eleutherian College, Open To All Without Regard To Sex Or Color." "Born in Penn. March 19, 1792. Died at College Hill, IND. August 21, 1860.

Hand written sheets, probably Miss D. Cravens, "Articles of Faith. Rules of Order and Records of Church Meetings of The Neil's Creek Anti-Slavery Baptist Church."

Article 1. We believe that The Holy Bible was written by men divinely inspired and is a perfect treasure of Heavenly instruction and that it has God for its Author and Salvation for its end. 2 Peter: 1,21; 2 Tim: 3, 16-17.

Article 2. We believe that there is one and only one true and living God, whose name is Jehovah, The Maker and Supreme Ruler of Heaven and Earth. PS. 83;18 Romans 1;20.

Article 3. We believe that man was created in the state of holiness under the law of his maker, but by voluntary transgression fell from that holy and happy state in consequence of which all men are now sinners. Gen:1;27-31, Rom: 6;21 Cor:15;56.

Article 4. We believe that the great Lord Jesus Christ bestowed on such as believe on him _____ justification, and that purification consists in the pardon of sins and the promise of eternal life on principles of righteousness. Acts:13;39 and Romans 5;1-2.

Article 5. We believe that the blessings of salvation are made free to all men by the Gospel and that nothing prevents the salvation of the greatest sinner on earth but his own voluntary refusal to comply with the requirements of the Redeemer. John;5;4, Rev. 22;17.

Article 6. We believe that Baptism is the immersion of the believer in water in the name of The Father, Son and of the Holy Ghost. Rom.6;1-14, Acts.8;36-39, Matthew 3;5-6.

Article 7. We believe that a visible church of Christ is a congregation of Baptised Believers associated by covenant in the faith and fellowship of the Gospel, observing the ordinances of Christ, governed by His love and privileges invested in them by His Word. Acts;2;41, Matthew 18;17.

Article 8. We believe that the church has the power to choose, and by elders, to ordain those officers that Christ has appointed in his church, vis. Elders or Pastors, Deacons, also to depose such officers as walk contrary to the rules of the Gospel, and to discipline their members. Acts 3;26, I Tim. 4;14, Mat. 18;15-18, Titus 3;10-11.

Article 9. We believe that civil government is of divine appointment for the interests and good order of human society, and that rulers are to be prayed for unceasingly, honored and obeyed, except in things opposed to the Word of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who is the only Lord of the conscience and the Prince of the kings of the earth.

Article 10. We believe that the Lord's Day ought to be observed and spent in the private social and public worship of God and that we should abstain from all secular labor and recreation except in cases of necessity or mercy.

Article 11. We believe that slavery or the holding of property in human beings is a violation of the principles of Christianity. All moral precepts which God has given to men. Jer.22;13, Lev.11;13, James 5;1-7, Song of Sol. 1;5-6
Members April 1846; Abraham Walton, Sr., John H. Tibbetts, Sarah Tibbetts. June 1846; Rebecca Burr. July 1846; Lamuel Record, Ulary H. Record, James Nelson. December 1846; James Hays. 1847; Sally Hays, Thomas Craven, Isiah Walton, Elizabeth Walton, Susan Hickland. March 1847; Sarah Hall, J. G. Craven, Emoline Walton, Elizabeth Walton, Margaret Hickland. 1849; John C. Thompson, Lucinda Thompson. 1850; Samuel Tibbetts, Sr., Isabella Tibbetts, Henry Hicklin, Martha Hicklin,

1851; Harriet Hoyt.

1853; Martha Craven, Susan Bur, Lucy Hoyt, Lucy Jefferson, Isabella Thomas, Georgiana Jefferson, Martha A. Butler, Mary Judking, Calvin Hildrith, Fanny Hildrith, Leydia Hildrith, Priscilla Parker.

1854; Orcita (?) Hoyt, Sarah Hoyt.

1855; Wm. Green, Ann Elpin, Mary A. Recent; Mary Hoyt; May Hoyt; Rebecca Craver Jefferson Judkins, Eugene K. Tibbetts, James Walling, Martha Hoyt.

1857; Lucinda Thompson, John Brown, George Hildreth, Eliza Hildreth, Ruth Hibbard, Miles Hildreth.

1856; Ch. W. Harris, Milton Craven, Elizabeth Craven.

1858; Thomas Baldwin, Nancy Craven, Sam'l Tibbetts, Mary A. Tibbetts, Rueben Walker and Susan B. Walker, Thirsa Walker, W. A. Johnson.

1859; Wm. Clist (?), Mary Clist (?).

1860; Ensely Craven, Loretta McKingis.

END, Neil's Creek Anti-Slavery Baptist Church.

(Sheet from Miss Cravens' Notes.

CANAAN neighborhood had pronounced anti-slavery and pro-slavery elements. Seem to have lived at dagger's drawn, according to the informant cited below. Lott was an Abolitionist of the extreme type, and near him The Knights of the Golden Circle held secret meetings. (sheet missing).

In the western part of the county, a definite route seems to have had as its first station a small Negro settlement called Graysville, which stood north of Hanover. Anderson Grey, from whom the place took its name was active in the Underground Railroad.

John G. Craven, the minister's son, having just received his degree from Miami University, took charge. The first meetings were held in the church and until a more suitable building could be erected, The attendance from the beginning was encouraging. Rev. Craven was made the traveling agent for Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois and through his efforts a considerable sum was secured for the new building, which was completed. Among those said to have been educated in Eleutherian College were two _____ pages 2,3,& 4 missing. Page 5. In 1830, a secret road was established from Jeffersonville through Charlestown, Lexington, Vernon, Greensburg, to Newport in Wayne County, where a junction was effected with a road running from a point near Cincinnati to Detroit, the gateway to the promised land. Shortly after the organization of this road, George Evans, a Negro living near Hanover, learning of its existence, and enthusiastic over its object, entered into communication with other managers and was enlisted in the service. In 1832, a conference was held at his home, the result of which was a change of route, henceforth to run from Jeffersonville to Evan's home, whereby the latter was enabled to conduct the fugitives from that point to Vernon, where communication with the Jeffersonville Road was convenient. Thus, Evans, with the aid of the Negroes about Hanover and Greenbriar, whose names are not know, succeeded in effecting the escape of many slaves. At this time the anti-slavery crusade found several powerful desirables living in Madison and Lancaster. Among whom were John Loring was prominent. Despite the secrecy with which the underground operations were conducted, there were sufficient recaptures to justify a suspicion of treachery in part of the Negroes (page 7 & 8 missing) Among those who largely contributed to the success of the undertaking were the Nelsons-Daniel, James and Jefferson- brothers, and the Neals, imbued with a deep seated hatred of the slave system. They lived near each other in a little village three miles west of Lancaster, on Neil's Creek.

During the leadership of Elijah Anderson, the people of Jefferson County experienced a change of sentiment on the question of slavery, in favor of its abolition and two of the most enthusiast apostles, or champions, were James Baxter, who lived in Monroe Township near Baxter' Schoolhouse and Jesse Wagner, who lived on the Graham Road, both the head of the oldest and most respected families in the county. The homes of both men were made so called stations of the underground railroad and both did efficient work for years.

Ryker's Ridge swarmed with Friends of Freedom, and the Rykers, Ledgerwoods, Almonds, Trotters, and the Stewarts made no concealment of their views. The organization, complete save for an earnest practical leader, and that person was found in John Carr, under whose management, the organization took on new life

There is vague mention of a route up by way of Clifty Creek and the old London Road to Lancaster as early as the twenties, when John Sering, a pronounced Abolitionist, took an active part in the movement, long before the Underground Railroad System was established.

An Anti-Slavery Baptist Church, formed near Lancaster, was not permitted to affiliate with the Madison Baptist Churches, but united with an Association of Anti-Slavery Baptist Churches in northern Ohio, but, with the outbreak of the Civil War, it was admitted to membership in the Madison Association. The existence of this church and the above status suggested Lancaster as a fit place for the education of the blacks as well as the whites to Rev. Thomas Craven of Oxford, Ohio, who had ridden over a hundred miles to preach to the abolitionists.

In the early forties, two distinct branches of the Underground Railroad were established in this county, both leading from points on the river to Quaker Settlements to the north in Ripley County. The eastern route extended through Eagle Hollow by way of Ryker's Ridge (What I want to say is this, that the slaves arriving at Eagle Hollow took one of two routes, or branches, after leaving said hollow, one way was by Ryker's Ridge, the other was by way of Graham Road to the northwest. The station on this route (Graham Road) was Wagners) along Indian Kentucky Creek through Shelby Township thence north east. A great many of the fugitives went north over the Graham Road as far as John Wagners (The latter for many years an active conductor, his old blacksmith shop still stands and is used as a stable by the owner of the property _____ Wattlington. Mr. Wagner made a habit of cutting a niche on one of the logs of his shop every time he secreted a slave. The writer recently visited the old building and counted the niches. (No count given by Miss Gravens).

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD**SAMUEL TIBBETTS. September 11, 1880

Having read Miss Aurette Hoyt's interesting and instructive article on the anti-slavery men of Jefferson County she writes, "We as a family were personally in many of the events she enumerates, she closes her statistics in May 1845. The society continued its way until it was merged into the Republican Party, when the principles of liberty for the oppressed in our land began to assume a political position outside the church, and a constructive one inside its sacred portals. The individual work, however, of the virtuous worthies named by Miss Hoyt still went on relentlessly as the occasion required and my wardrobe has responded to the benevolent call of dear Aunt Lucy Nelson's, when the stranger was in her house and required the raiment necessary to help them out of our boasted America to the

Dominion of Canada. Also, the boots of my husband were given when "Uncle James" knew of a man who needed them more than he did.

ABOLITIONISM** An old document brought to light. Madison Courier 22 Jan. 1892 During the recent visit of our old friend Rev. John G. Craven, now of Beloit Kansas to this county and city, he gave us the manuscript of the original call for the first great Anti-Slavery Convention at Indianapolis, with a number of the names of the signers to call for the same. There were besides the names appended, quite a number of others who rendered efficient service in promotion the objects of the Convention--notably the late Judge Stephen C. Stevens, of this city. Prof. Craven is remembered by many of the Courier readers as President of the Eleutherian College at College Hill, this county. We append the full text of the call: Anti-Slavery Conventions at Indianapolis.

1. The lovers of our Lord Jesus Christ who are laboring for the advancement of his kingdom, are invited to meet in convention at Indianapolis on the fourth Tuesday in May next at ten a.m. to ascertain by what means we can most successfully array the moral power of religion, the Church, and our Benevolent Organizations against the system of American Slavery, which has recently infringed so seriously upon the rights of our consciences, which has always disregarded the conscience of the slave, and which now presents an almost insurmountable barrier to the progress of pure religion throughout our beloved country. Shall we "for whom to live is Christ" count any sacrifice too great by which we shall be instrumental in making our land Emmanuel's land, and our fellow-citizens and the poor slaves fellow heirs of immortal life? Come Brethern and Sisters, "Come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

2. On the 29 of May a convention will assemble of the friends of Human Rights who believe that the Federal Government was instituted for the protection of rights and who are opposed to the revolutionary party, who are aiming to employ it to make war upon human rights; and who are willing to appeal to this public conscience and sympathy in behalf of the colored portion of the population of the State, inasmuch as their rights and best interests are seriously threatened by certain clauses which it proposed to adopt in the new Constitution. Let the patriot and the Christian put forth his utmost exertion to save our beloved state, and the county, from the reproaches of the world and the judgement of a just God.

Signed; John G. Craven, James Nelson, James M. Montgomery, James P. Brown, R. R. Clark, Angus McKay, John P. Brown, Nehemiah Stites, E. B. Roger, Martha W. Craven, Barbara M. Thompson, Margaret McKay, Lucy Hoyt, Mary Hoyt, Esther McKay, Barbara McKay, Mary McKay, Emeline Stites.
COLLEGE HILL, JEFFERSON COUNTY, INDIANA 1851.

That public opinion was gradually yielding to the Abolition movement may be inferred from the organization of the Eleuthrian College at Lancaster in the summer of 1846. This institution had for its object the co-education of the two races. It had its inception in a small anti-slavery Baptist Church at Middlefork (?). Rev. Thomas Craven, from Ohio, an ardent Abolitionist, having heard of the Anti-Slavery congregation, rode ninety miles on horseback to visit the church. He impressed the people so favorably that arrangements were made immediately whereby he was to preach once a month and he did, making the journey of ninety miles on horseback. For some time the minister had pondered over the establishment of a school which would throw open its doors to the ambitious Negro but the bitter prejudice prevailing made it impracticable. At his suggestion, however, the little Baptist Community attempted the project, beginning with a ten acre lot donation from the minister, they succeeded in founding one of the most unique institutions in the west.

Rev. John Craven's father, Thomas, went to England (at least New England) in the interest of Eleutherian College. His sermons, bitter politically, offended many, mostly those of Pro-Slavery principles. "Firearms were carried into the church, revolvers sometimes falling from the coat pockets as Deacons rose from prayer" Rememberance J. Williams, son of Robert, a charter member of the Middlefork Church, when asked the cause of the dissolution of the organization replied, "Twas politics done it, Prof. Craven of Lancaster College did more than anyone else to break it up, he preached nothing but politics."

On Saturday, January 5, 1839, the first and only Anti-Slavery Society was organized at the Neil's Creek School House in Lancaster Township. The minutes show that Rev Lewis Hicklin presided and J. C. Tibbetts officiated as Secretary of the first meeting. In the Constitution adopted, we more clearly understand the calm determined attitude of those noble apostles of liberty, who pledged themselves to use every constitutional means to secure the abolition of slavery throughout the nation.

In April of 1839 this aggressive society sent as delegates to the Greensburg meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, Rev. Lewis Hicklin, Lyman Hoyt, Elh. Higgins, J. C. Tibbetts, Lemuel Wells, and Isiah Walton. Some of whom henceforth ably represented the society at every Anti-Slavery Convention held within a reasonable distance.

Perhaps the most important action of the society was the appointment of a committee on May 25, 1844, to organize the Anti-Slavery men of Jefferson County into a Liberty Party, thus carrying the war into the political arena.

Successful arrangements having been made, a convention was called for July 18th at Mount Pleasant Meeting House, one mile north of Madison, when a ticket was put into the field. A central committee was appointed and a vigorous campaign was waged. This party, having advocates throughout the county, gradually superceeded and absorbed the Anti-Slavery Society, which performed a Herculean task, that of having paved the way.

The society was kept in close touch with the Anti-Slavery work throughout the state. Meetings were held at wich stiring addresses were made by the zealous men allied with the cause and not infrequently the Abolition papers, "The Cincinnati Philanthropist" would be read or the speeches of Giddings and Julian. So earnestly determined were these men and women that they made a compact to deny themselves of all products of slave labor.

Auretta Hoyt, a daughter of Lyman Hoyt, one of the directors of the Neil's Creek Society, in a reminiscence says "We little folks felt the power of this resolution on the question of sugar and molasses, I distinctly remember that we almost wished they would be less conscientious."

The following officers were elected; President, Daniel H. Nelson; Vice-President, Abram Walton; Secretary, J. C. Tibbetts; Treasurer, James Nelson; Directors, Jefferson Nelson, Lyman Hoyt and Samuel Wells; Librarian, Earl Tibbetts.

W.W.WOOLEN RESPONDS TO MISS HOYT'S ARTICLE.

Madison Weekly Courier February 18, 1860.

I well remember the trial of Chapman Harris and Elijah Anderson in the Jefferson County Court for being engage in the work mentioned. They were the leaders of a party of some 25-30 colored who whipped nearly to death one John Simmons, a colored man for betraying the whereabouts of a fugitive slave. They were prosecuted by the late Judge Joseph E. Marshall, perhaps the ablest lawyer Indiana ever produced. After a long and tedious trial they were sentenced, I think a fine of two hundred dollars each. It was difficult to get evidence VS them for those who knew the facts would not give them to the court.

Judge Marshall _____ prosessed the inditement as to James Burke and several others who had been indited in order to make witnesses of them but the expedient proved in vain, for they would not tell what they knew, and had it not been for a wound on Harris's lip, both he and Anderson might have gone acquitted. This scar was the tell-tale that satisfied the jury of Harris and Anderson's guilt. In 1854/5 Harris was arrested in Louisville on having a pistol found on his person. He was heavily fined and condemed to work in the workhouse. Judge Allison of Madison, learning of the last circumstance, immediately went to Louisville and effected his release.

Chapman Harris's farm of forty acres on Ryker's Ridge, joined that of W.W. Wollen and the latter knew the former well and employed one of the boys to work for him. Woolen considered Harris an honest, fearless man and in the service of the Underground Railroad as an operator, in which he felt sure Harris had a share, though the latter, in all of the years that he knew him, never divulged a word in regard to it. Mr. Woolen opined that Harris had been a fugitive slave. He said "One morning as I started to Madison very early, just as I crossed the Eagle Hollow bridge, I saw a wagon coming towards me at a rapid rate. It was apparently filled with boys of fugitives and when it overtook me, the driver asked the way to Ryker's Ridge. I gave him the necessary directions and a few moments afterwards met Anderson, an associate with Harris in the Underground, and told him what I had just seen and done. He thanked me and walked on. That day I learned some fugitive slaves had landed at daylight on the river bank between Bee Camp and Eagle Hollow. Ther were in a wagon that I had seen and found a place of refuge. I have seen the fugitive slaves hunted over the hills and through the valleys about Chapman Harris's home, some few were caught and taken back to slavery. But the greater numbers succeeded in passing north. If they could reach Chapman's house they were safe for he would surrender them with his life."

ODDS AND ENDS OF INFORMATION COLLECTED BY MISS D. CRAVENS.

A correspondent to the Indianapolis Journal, writing while Harris was still alive and presumably from an interview with him, gives an account of "Underground Railroad" methods at this point on the river. He says, "Communication was kept up with conductors on the other side by means of well known signals. Heite would usually make his journeys on foot, sometimes twenty miles to and fro in the night, returning to his work the following day, possibly shaving the man whose slave he had assisted to escape the previous night."

Underground Railroad men of Shelby Township mentioned by David R. S. Spencer were Christophen Whitten, C.Voris, Jesse Lott and John Shaw.

Mrs. Matthews, nee Sarah Shannon, of Hanover, her father was a conductor on the Underground Railroad. Mrs. Thompson was a sister of Rev. Thomas Craven.

Mr. Louis Evans' shoestore for years on Main Street, was long a popular man and a conspicuous figure in a high silk hat. Grayson says that the southern element and the Baltimore Maryland Godmans nurtured a great prejudice towards the negro and Evans.

John Carter, born in Lexington, KY in 1814, lived in Cincinnati until the famous mob vs free negroes in 1830 drove him to Canada. For years Steward, in the Ohio and Mississippi, availed himself of the opportunity for assisting fugitive slaves. He would store away the "living merchandise and guide them toward the north states. He established himself in business in Madison and continued a zealous worker on the Underground Railroad. He was the leading spirit in the colored church in Jefferson County, was a philanthropic man and recognized as the guardian of his people's interest, a good man and a good story teller, he died May 12, 1878.

There was, until recent years, on the Hanover Road at the mouth of Clifty Creek, an old two story frame house built in the early thirties by John B. Todd, and which is said to have been one of the stations of the Underground Railroad, and to have been conducted by Todd and his brother. Little is known of its history and operation but the route up Clifty Creek and on to the old state road, then to Lancaster and Vernon, etc, was one of the longest and most resorted to.

John Sering was one of the earliest active Abolitionists in this county. He was associated with the Underground Railroad and managed the safe transit of many bondsmen.

Auretta Hoyt in some reminiscences furnished for this work, gives an interesting insight into the lives and characters of those early "Warriors of the Faith". "In 1847, my father moved to Madison Hill on the Lanier farm. In 1848, 49, and 50, I was going to school with the Marshalls, Hites, Derings, McIntyres, Garbers, Barbours, Paynes, Gillets, Cranes and other early Madison families and I well remember on several occasions, when we were discussing who our respective fathers "were for" politically, proudly saying my father was a "Free Soiler". My innocent mates were not politicians and did not know but that was as respectable as any other party. Those Abolitionists were quiet, ambitious, earnest, intelligent men of the stuff of which heroes and martyrs are made. The tears come to my eyes as I recall them all, and the unflinching firmness with which they stood their convictions and were willing to be called by the despised name of "Free Soiler", and to leave their comfortable homes at dead of night to help the poor slave on towards the north star, and to treat him as a man and brother, regardless of the contempt of neighbors.

William Phelps and George White, two excentric and bold characters, who had been in the employ of the road near Cincinnati, came to Madison in 1845, and enlisted in the service here. It was their duty to furnish

the plantation slaves with the necessary information to carry them as far as the river. This service was extremely hazardous, since their seizure was equivalent to death or the penitentiary. Hence the necessity of their constant change of location. After three years of hazardous work, they left Madison for other fields.

At this period, 1845, Chapman Harris, perhaps the most faithful and efficient negroes connected with the Underground Railroad in this county, is said to have had a horse so well trained that it would carry a fugitive to the next station and return unattended. Mr. J. W. Trinkle, Republican Township, says that his father, John George Trinkle, and Milton and Preston Wiley (the father of Dr. Harvey Wiley, U. S. Chemist) were the only ones in their neighborhood, the northeastern part of Republican Township, with Abolition sentiments, or who would even give employment to Negroes. A few miles further on was the notable Abolition neighborhood (Lancaster) where the Anti-Slavery Society and afterwards the church and school stood. Here James Nelson, John Tibbitts, Lyman Hoyt, and a number of others were prepared to harbor and conduct the fugitives who reached them.

References to newspaper articles, probably from The Madison Courier:
Ordinance regarding free education of orphans. June 19, 1844, page 2.
Liberty Meeting in Lancaster Township. July 3, 1844.
Delia Webster, January 8, and 29th, 1845.
Anti-Slavery Liberty Party meeting and ticket. March 26, 1845.
Anti-Slavery attack on Liberty Party, April 9, 1845.
Liberty Party, September 19, 1844.
Octoroon, entered army at 16 and died in service. A good many attended, heaviest darky attendance during 1858-1860.
Juliet Wilson, a girl and employed at Judge Cravens attempted to fire the Cravens house about 1862 or 63.

People who sheltered slaves, Lyman Hoyt, whose house stood where Big Creek and Middlefork join, at cave. John Tibbetts, north of College, one half mile. The Strickland family lived near Ripley.

SONG OF SLAVERY DAYS:

I'm on my way to Canada
that free and happy land.
The dire effects of slavery
I can no longer stand.
My soul is vexed within me so
To think I am a slave,
I have resolved to strike a blow
for freedom or the grave.
I hear that Queen Victoria says
if we will all forsake our land of chains and slavery
and come across the lake,
She will be standing on the shore
with arms extended wide
to give us all a pleasant home
beyond the rolling tide.
The Hounds are baying on my track, old master just behind,
but I am off for Canada, my liberty to find,
And if I gain that distant shore, the dogs will stop this side
They cannot follow fugitives beyond the rolling tide.

Benajah Hoyt died 1851, age 42, leaving a widow, Harriet H. and four children, Aurette who died in '83, Laura (Mrs. Smith King), Clara (Mrs. Edgar Williams), and Daniel Walter Hoyt. Harriet H. lived to be 85 years old, leaving this book among her effects. Daniel Nelson died in 1852, age 71, Nancy Nelson, his beloved wife, died in 1850. They were the parents of Harriet Hoyt. James Nelson was a younger brother of Daniel Nelson. He was a soldier in the War of 1812 and an active member of the Underground Railroad, as were most of these people. He was twice arrested with others by Wright Rea, Sheriff of Jefferson County, and charged with aiding runaway slaves and taken to jail at Madison, was released on bond, no further action was taken in the case. He was about 70 years old when he died. His widow, Lucy Nelson, lived to be 90. Their children were Sarah Ann and Joseph Nelson.

Jefferson Nelson, son of Daniel and Nancy Nelson, and his wife Mary Nelson died at Paris, Indiana where two daughters still live. Mrs. Elvera Dixon, Miss Ella Nelson, and Hiram Nelson live at Vernon, IN. A daughter, Mrs. Kate Hinson lives in Indiana.

Lyman Hoyt, an older brother of Benajah, was a leader in the Underground Railroad. His children; Gersham and Lucy Ann (Mrs. Thompson), Mary Jurst, Sarah, Lois, Ester B. and Henry.

Lemuel Wells was the father of Merrett Wells, formerly a dentist, and Rev. Martin Wells, both of Indiana.

Joshua C. Tibbetts, Secretary, his wife was Jane L Tibbetts. Earl T. was a physician, his wife was Mammie; Sarah Ann Nelson married John C. Tibbetts, both living at Mound Vally, Kansas. A letter from Elliott R. Tibbetts of Indianapolis, dated about 1950 states, "Dr. Samuel Tibbetts and wife had six children and their son, Samuel, Jr., was my grandfather, the father of Eugene, who was my father." My grandparents Samuel and Mary Ann Tibbetts, assisted Professor Cravens in establishing the Eleutherean College at Lancaster and during the early period of its founding, Dr. Craven (a minister) prevailed upon my grandparents to take father with him on an eastern trip in order to collect funds for the founding and maintenance of the college, during their trip father kept a complete diary of their doings and in it he recored the fact that Dr. Cravens and himself were entertained in the home of Harriett Beecher Stowe, at Andover, Mass. She gave them a liberal contribution toward the fund, knowing that it was to be used for the abolition and education of negro slaves. This little diary is now in my possession, as well as many writings of my grandmother, Mary Ann Tibbetts. She wrote both prose and poetry and made several scrap books of her writings, most of her writings were of a spiritual nature.

Emaline Walton, a school teacher, presided over the Neil's Creek School several years. She became the second wife of Josph Buchanan, then of Cumberland, Iowa. Samuel Tibbetts, husband of Mary Ann, and Eugene T., of Madison, were their sons. A daughter, Mrs. Wallace, married and lived in that county. The four Tibbetts were from Ohio, Nelsons and Hoyts from Vermont, Helen Rockwood, for years a resident of Indiana, now with Mrs. Houford; Edson. Mary Hoyt was a sister of Lyman Hoyt and Benajah Hoyt. John Matley was the son of an English weaver of that name, came from near Cincinnati. Amos and Ann Hutchinson, his wife, moved to Evansville. Herman, a son of Daniel Nelson, lives in Evansville.

James Hoyt built a grist mill at Lancaster.
 Sarah Hall, wife of Lemuel Wells.

(from minute book)

CHURCH 102 YEARS OLD. EBENEZER CONGREGATION OBSERVES FOUNDING-WOMAN'S DAY.
 Madison Courier, April 28, 1941.

In 1839 records show that the formation of the Ebenezer Congregation got under way. There were 34 colored persons in the Methodist group, all then participating in the services in Wesley Chapel. Wesley Chapel itself had 434 whites enrolled. In 1840 there were 79 colored persons on the rolls who began services in a little building out on Walnut Street, near Fifth. The Methodist Church lists this as a colony of Wesley Chapel, the report reading "Wesley Chapel and Walnut Street "Congregations". It was about this time that the legislature passed a law prohibiting the employment of Negroes in the state. Col M.C. Garber, owner and publisher of the Madison Courier, and John R. Cravens, eminent lawyer, were among those who joined with other Anti-Slavery groups to make this law a dead letter. Rev. C. W. Reuter, presiding elder of the church, employed a colored man at the Walnut Street Church and was indicted. The case never came to trial and was finally quashed.

About this time, a certain Peter Booth, a colored man of means became active and with aid of several interested white leaders of Madison, initiated a move to buy a little brick house, used by a carpenter, on Poplar Street in rear of where Wehner's Grocery now operates. In 1866, this property was acquired by the Church Trustees by purchase from Henry Kyle and his wife Margaret. In 1877, the congregation, which had experienced straitened circumstances, despite an increase in number that made the building too small, decided to erect the present building, which was completed in 1878 and has been in use continuously since. The first Trustees were : Peter Booth, William Bowlin, Archibald Taylor, Dennis Johnson, and James Burke. On the women's program yesterday, Mrs. Ellen Grant was the spirited high with an entertaining commentary on notable women of the past and the problem of getting men to church. A paper by Mrs. Grey also was of great interest as was the reading by Miss Harriet Inskeep. Charles E. Heberhart, of Jefferson County Historical Society, talked on the early days of the colored race in Madison. The Pastor, Rev. C. D. Stemley, ably sang "The Lost Chord", accompanied by Mrs. Pearl Tandy, while Mrs. Nell Beattu also gave a pleasing solo. The excellent singing of the Baptist Church Junior Choir and of the Hanover group was interspersed in the program. Members of the Ebenezer Choir were; Mrs. Pearl Tandy, pianist and leader; Mrs. Louis Whittaker, Mrs. Virginia Cosby, Mrs. Elizabeth Smith, Mrs. Henrietta O'Bannion, Mrs. Edith Whittaker, Mrs. Gertrude Alums, Mrs. Angelina Inskeep, Mrs. Harriett Inskeep, and Alphonso Whittaker, William Cosby, Robert Smith and Clifford Jordan. The occasion also celebrated the installation of a new heating plant, renovation of the interior with new windows, a lavatory and other valuable improvements.

STUDY OF NEGRO HISTORY, MADISON COURIER, February 2, 1930.

REMINISCENCES OF MADISON, IN BEFORE THE WAR PERIOD BY MARY C. JOHNSON.
 To the Editor, Madison Courier, "I have been requested by some of my friends to write of some things that occurred in my early life--things that are still vivid in my recollections. As it is not generally known for whom that part of Madison known as Georgetown was named, I can tell you. A colored family by the name of Hopkins owned and lived in the house where Mrs. Enos Baglan, widow, now lives (there were two brothers, George and Charles Hopkins, living in the house and name "Georgetown" was originated from the first brother's name. At that time Georgetown was mostly inhabited

by a good class of colored people, who lived from the northside of the alley north of Miller's Alley, along both sides of the street. I can remember possibly four white families that lived there and on Fifth Street west to Jefferson were colored families. On the spot where Mr. Schneider's Meat Shop now stands, was the M.E. Church (colored) and the congregation built the A. M. E. Church on Poplar Street. The colored people I refer to were industrious and worthy citizens, all owning their own homes and were highly respected by the better class of white people.

But, one day in the forties, I do not remember the exact date, without any provocation, there came a mob, and it was a mob not named up of republicans. Letters written afterwards showed that the mob organized at the house of one Amos Phillips, on Third Street, between Elm and Vine. His was the only house that they did not enter that day. The mob left the Phillips home and went east on Third Street, and in passing the alley they saw my mother's log cabin, and a lot of frightened children, as the yells of those 100 or men came on down to where Mr. _____'s home now stands, that was our home, and when they lined up like soldiers in front of this house, every man and boy had a club or stick in his hand. My mother faced those men, who were molesting the negros without cause, and she expressed her opinion of them right to their faces. They never said a word in reply, but after going through the house and finding no arms or weapons, they left, going in the house of every colored family looking for fire arms.

Lewis Evans, who wore a silk hat and Prince Albert coat conducted a business here, but was hated for being "a colored gentleman". He was the only colored person who left the city. He owned a little farm out on the Graham Road and when they found that he had left the city members of the mob threatened to bring him back and deal summarily with him.

A number of the leaders, mounted on horses, went out the Michigan Road and crossed to the Evan's farm, but a friend (a man named Foster, who at that time was living where the Lucht home now stands) had informed Evans of the mob's intention. Mr. Foster was an officer of some kind and went out Walnut Street to Mr. Evan's farm. As Mr. Foster's horse came sweeping through Walnut Street it was covered with foam (Sheridan's ride of twenty mile away). He delivered Mr. Evans to the home of Wm. Lodge, this was where the Danner Boarding House is now.

When the mob came and demanded Mr. Evans, Mr. Lodge met them with a double barrel shot gun and said that the first man that entered his door was a dead man. The mob returned to Amos Phillips' house and fired shot after shot. The brave old colored man would not give up. Just before daylight his ammunition gave out and they broke in and beat him and left him to die, but he recovered and lived many more years. And now if any colored man cast a vote, I hope that they will stand by the Grand Old Party, which has always been our true and trusted friend, even in the darkness of slavery. I forgot to speak of Mr. Caleb Lodge, who came to my mother that day and told her to bring her children to his house that night or we would be killed. She then thanked him for his kind offer and said she had done nothing to cause this mob and if she had to die, it would be under her own roof.

No one has ever spoken of Elijah Anderson. He had a blacksmith's shop on the corner of Walnut and Third Streets, on the south side of the street. Mr. Anderson was deeply interested in the Underground Railroad. He, being a man of color, helped his fellowmen to freedom. Once there was a crowd of runaway slaves crossed the Ohio River to this city and Mr. Anderson went with them to Cincinnati. After placing them in the hands of another conductor, they went safely to Chatham, Canada. As Mr. Anderson boarded the mail boat down, which was then the steamer "Superior", he was betrayed by someone, who telegraphed to Louisville to a man by the name of Bly. This man made his living in those days by catching runaway slaves.

Bly got off the upriver boat at some town above Carrollton and boarded the down river boat. When the cabin crew, about eighteen, were eating supper, Bly grabbed Mr. Anderson who tried to free himself. He was beaten and handcuffed. When the Superior landed at Carrollton, he was dragged off and taken to Bedford and placed in jail for the night. From there he was taken to Frankfort Prison where he died. He was a free colored man and tried to help his fellow men to freedom. Every trip he made his friends warned him and had he come home by train he might be living today. I hope every man of color, who goes to the polls of election day will vote a straight Republican ticket, Respectfully, Mary C. Johnson, Madison, Indiana.

MADISON HERALD. NO DATE. Race war of many years ago in Madison. Squire Grayson recalls the failure of a mob of whites. To the Herald. How many of the old timers are now living who remember Louis Evans, the King of the black people in Madison? Let's see--Nicholas Horuff, Charles Alling, R. J. Hulbert, S. Grayson, W. W. Crozier, John A. Litterer and Mat Hoffman ought to all remember that fine old colored gentleman, I do. Louis Evans carried on a shoe store for many years in Madison. The store was situated on Main Street, right near where Henry A. Klein kept a "buffet" for a number of years. I was going to write it "saloon" and something whispered "dry up", so I wrote it "buffet" and I'm afraid I made a mistake, for the "secluses" of Madison don't understand what I am talking about, they will think I mean "bucket".

As I was saying, Louis Evans kept a shoe store on Main Street. He was partonized by the white people as well as the blacks. If Evans lived today his appearance on the street would attract attention. He wore a silk hat and no white man wore finer or more up-to-date clothes. In those days the possession of a few thousand dollars would class a man with rich and I guess that is correct, taking into consideration of its purchasing power then and now. Then eggs sold at six dozen for twenty five cents, now one dozen for thirty five cents, and ham meat sold for five or six cents a pound. You see then that one thousand dollars was equal to at least six thousand nowadays.

Evans had white men to work for him. In those days coal stoves were unknown in Madison. The rich and poor alike burned wood, and I have many times seen white men sawing Negro Evans's wood. The old fellow said he "didn't want no nigger in de woodpile". There was but one colored man in Madison that ever came near impersonating "King Louis" and that was Woodson Holly, who lived on Fifth Street, west of Poplar Lane. Say, you ought to have seen Woodson in his palmist days, when he could sing; "My name is Woodson Holly, OH! And I will have you all to know, I am a whitewasher by profession, I am going down to Washington to whitewash the bloodies of his (a piece of the article is missing and not available. The next column starts) gave them a ducking and let them go under promise to depart immediately for unknown parts. Among those ducked was a large fat negro named Booth, who was afterwards employed as press man in Hon. Jesse D. Bright's newspaper office, when he was an aspirant for re-election to the Senatorship of Indiana, and he put up money to start the Daily Madisonian as a campaign journal. Bright got the senatorship and Rolla Doolittle was appointed post-master at Madison. The war came on, Bright put his foot into it and was expelled from the senate and removed to a farm in Carroll County, KY where he died after a long life of public service. I will return to the battlefield. The mob continued on the hunt of the black people who could be seen climbing Michigan Hill and getting away in all directions as fast as their legs could carry them. Louis Evans, the rich "nigger", envied by all the poor white trash, was the next one to go for. The mob, several hundred strong, moved up Main Street near Evans Store, which was

closed, and looking down Main Street, they saw Evans coming to his store. The cry "lynch him" rang out from the infuriated mob, and Evans, seeing danger, turned around the corner, where Kreb's Clothing Store now is, ran down Mulberry Street towards the river. William Lodge, who kept an iron store on the north side of the street near the first alley, was watching the movements of Evans and the mob, and standing in his store door with a piece of iron bar in his hand, called to Evans to come in his store. The re-treating and frightened Negro heard Lodge's call and turned in and went upstairs. The leaders of the mob came running up to the door with clubs and pistols in their hands and yelling, "Where is the black rascal, let us get him." the brave William Lodge cried out (the rest has been lost).

Indiana Territory) Personally appeared before me Joseph Strickland, a Justice Jefferson County) of the Peace in and for said county, John Henderson and

William Provine both of the county aforesaid, who being duly sworn depose and say that by the last will and testament of John Provine, a certain negro girl name Jude was left and bequeathed as the property of the widow of said John for and during the widow's life--that after said widow's death, said negro girl was to become the property of the remaining heirs or residuary legatees of the said John--that during the life time of said widow and sometime in the month of November in the year eighteen hundred and seven, the said negro woman, together with her two children named Hannah and Amos, were by the direction of the said widow brought from the state of Kentucky in the county of Clarke and Indiana Territory and that previously, to wit in the month of September 1806, the said widow brought other children of said negro woman into the county and territory aforesaid--that the object and intention of the widow as well as the remaining heirs, who all consented and approved of such bringing, was that said negro woman and said children should become free under the said laws of said territory--that in conformity to such intention the following heirs of said John Provine, deceased, to wit; Lawrence Harris, William Provine, Alexander Provine, John Provine, John Henderson, and Polly Provine, now Polly McClintock, signed a deed or instrument of writing relinquishing all right, title, interest or claim to said negro woman and her said children and that the said Polly Provine, now Polly McClintock signed said deed or instrument of writing sometime in April 1809, previous to her marriage--and that said deed or instrument of writing has since been lost and that Rebecca Provine, another heir of said John Provine did on the 8th day of September 1810, sign a similar deed of relinquishment as by reference to the same being her will. _____ fully appear and that in the opinion of these deponents and agreeable to the acts and intentions of the legatees of the deceased, The said negro woman and her children are to all intents and purposes emancipated and free and further sayeth not. John Henderson, seal Wm. Provine, seal Sworn and subscribed before me a Justice of the Peace, this twenty seventh day of September, eighteen hundred and fifteen, Joseph Strickland, J.P.J.C. Clark County, Indiana Territory. I do hereby certify that sometime in the month of September 1806, my mother, Mary Provine brought Aaron and Sam, two black boys into the Territory and entered their names on record at Jeffersonville, Clark County, Indiana Territory and sometime in the month of November 1807, I William Provine, at the request of my mother the said Mary Provine, brought into said territory a black woman named Jude and two children named Hannah and Amos. Given under my hand this 22 day of September 1815. Wm. Provine.

Whereas I, having had a determination to set my servant negro Bob free I have this day declared him free in the presence of sundry persons, brought him to reside in Jefferson County, Indiana State, and given him his certificate as a further acknowledgement of the same, which is to be placed on record in the Clerk's Office of this county. Given under my hand this 20th day of September 1816.

Attest: Jno Ryker F. C. Talbott Rich. Hopkins. Jefferson Co. Indiana Ter

Louisville, February 1856. Whereas, I Jeffy Hines have heretofore, to wit; on the 1st day of January 1856, purchased from the heirs of Wm. F. Simrall, deceased, my wife Susan and her child named Frederick and have mortgaged said slaves to S. C. Ely (as well as a parcel of land in the city of Louisville) to secure the payment of a balance of the purchase money, viz, the sum of \$350, evident by two notes in installments, one for \$200, payable eight months after date and the other for \$150 payable twelve months after date, both dated the 1st of January 1856, bearing interest from date and payable to the order of S. C. Ely (for the heirs of W. F. Simrall, desc'd) and whereas (subject to the payment of the debts above) I am anxious that said slaves be free at my death, I do hereby manumet, emancipate and set free said slaves Susan and her child named Fredrick; The said freedom to take effect at my death subject however to the debt aforesaid. But, I do retain control over and right to the services of said slaves so long as I live. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 20th day of February 1856, and it is also agreed that all children that may be born during the life time of Jerry Hines by Susan shall at the death of said Jerry in like manner be free. His Mark, Jerry Hines. Witness Andrew Gross

Letter to Courier from Mrs. John R. Inglis. (Susan Moffett Inglis) dated August 24, 1938.

If not too much trouble will appreciate this correspondence in Courier. Dear Sir, I enjoyed your article in the Madison Courier of August 17th. That home is my brother's place. I, being the youngest daughter of John H. Moffett, naturally the McIntires would not be familiar with the history as I and I feel I must correct one part, in particular that regarding slave traffic. My father was a slave holder-so that proves he was not connected with the traffic spoken of nor was it carried on on his farm. The place was the farm farther north west owned by one Delia Webster, later owned by Daniel Murdock. A fine man as far back as I can remember, my own family and all in the county hated the name of "Delia Webster" and looked upon her as a demon, or worse. She was so much despised that any one living on that farm for many years after had no social standing with the majority of the citizens. You know back in those days there was more prejudice and less tolerance than now. The old slave Mr. McIntire spoke of had been given his freedom when my grandfather, Robert Moffett, presented the farm to my father, John Moffett-so he was no longer a slave, but a faithful friend as long as he lived. He used his influence with the slaves and for a time kept them loyal but eventually they too left, carrying along the family silver and clothing. Every Courier reader in Trimble County and many in Madison knew old Uncle Robin Hicks, for his splendid Christian character and I know a better man never lived than "Uncle Bob". Our family used the cyclone cellar for milk and butter and it was exceptionally good. We used it only once for shelter. I appreciate your tribute to the farm and cemetery for I love them very much. Thank You.

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD, COURIER, 1899.

Few there are living now who were old enough in the ante-bellum days to realize the nature, extent and power of the institution of slavery. Especially is this true of those born and reared north of the Mason-Dixon Line, but here and there a man has passed or is nearing his four score who can tell us of facts that now seem incredible.

Repulsive as the idea of human slavery is to the present generation, it had many defenders in the south and countless apologists in the north. It was claimed that slavery was the proper condition of the negro. He was an inferior being, and God Almighty had condemned him in divine writ to become a "servant of servants". And in the sacred scripture the people were exhorted to submission unto their rulers, and servants were especially commanded to "obey their masters." The whole public policy of the south shaped toward strengthening and perpetuation of slavery. Her statesmen were trained and artful, alert and aggressive. Even her churches upheld the institution with such bitterness and vigor that the gulf created between them and their northern brethren has not been wholly bridged across.

To the slave owner, the intelligent and dominate power of the south, the institution meant a life of luxurious ease and royal dignity. And it may be said, in justice to many a slave owner, that his slaves were comfortably cared for and kindly treated. But the kindest of intentions could not always obviate the cruelties of the auction block.

So tremendous was the political power of slavery that through the halls of the national legislature and the decision of the Supreme Court, it enacted and sustained the most odious and rigid laws against interference with the institution.

The men who fed or sheltered, or in any manner lent aid or comfort to a runaway slave was in imminent danger of financial ruin. Not only were the slave hunters in constant search for violators of the law, but in every community there were characters who were eager to play detective in a bad cause and betray their "Abolitionist" neighbors. It was no trifling affair to extend assistance to the fugitives from the south. It not only required an honest, sincere devotion to principle, but it took the courage of conviction. How many are there today who would risk their earthly all for those who give nothing but gratitude in return? For people they had never seen before and never expected to see again? Who would be will, for the sake of a sentiment, to brave the finger of scorn and the tongue of abuse? Should occasion require, there are doubtless noble souls who would do as much for a righteous cause as those of other days; for the world is not growing worse, but, whether our judgement as to that be deemed right or wrong, there is no question as to the fearless heroism of those who braved personal and financial dangers for the cause of freedom in ante-bellum days.

Could we lift the veil from the past and look upon some of these scenes, our hearts would not only thrill with sympathy for the fugitives but with apprehension for their benefactors.

Imagine a number of frightened human beings, men, women, and children in the darkness of midnight, emerging from a farm lane onto a country road stealthily they slip along, until the dark bulk of a farm house rises vaguely in the gloom ahead. The leader stops them while he reconnoiters. Satisfying himself that no one is stirring at the house beyond, they pass hurriedly on, crouching and on tiptoe. Directly the sound of horse's feet is heard. It may be only the doctor going or coming, or some belated farmer getting home from town. But however it is, no one must see those people. Over the fence and into the bushes. A minute later a horseman rides by, little suspicion that a dozen pair of eyes are on him, and that if he but knew what was almost in touch across that worn fence, it would be worth thousands and thousands

of dollars to him. He could literally pick a fortune off the bushes. Back into the road again, and on, cautiously following their leader as he turns into a by-path through the inky darkness of the woods, clambering across swollen creeks or fallen trees, pushing through the fields and hollows, eyeing with suspicion the dim forms of bushes and stumps, almost expecting them to spring to the attack, ready to fly if they can, or fight if they must, not a word above a whisper, except perhaps the faint wail of the babe, half perishing at it's mother's bosom. Thus they traverse many a tortuous and weary mile, always bearing to the northward. At last the roosters begin to crow. The defiant challenge and sturdy answer are heard in the distance. Daylight is coming. The people will soon be moving. Refuge must be secured for the day, but the stalwart young "conductor" knows his business, he has calculated closely. The form of a house is seen in the distance as the gray line of the sky grows stronger. Leaving his charges in the edge of the wood, he approaches the house. He hushes the barking dogs with a subdued but friendly greeting. A form appears at an upper window, and a voice inquires, "Who's there?". "It's me", says the conductor, and instantly the whole matter is understood. In a moment the door is opened, a few quiet directions are hastily executed, and the fugitives are safely disposed of for the day. The following night the same program is repeated under the guidance of a new conductor and so on night after night, until the hunted and fear-haunted souls breathe the air of freedom, under the British flag. Scores and hundreds of such scenes were known before the war, and for every one of them was a counter scene of southern slave hunters, booted and spurred and heavily armed, their saddlebags loaded with fetters, urging their gallant steeds here and there in desperate search of their runaway property, and yet few indeed were the fugitives recaptured.

There were some of those conductors still living in Jefferson County, but most of them have long since "crossed the river" and are resting on the other shore. Chapman Harris no longer lives, nor is there need for him to sound the old anvil under the sycamore tree above the city as a signal that fugitives might be ferried safely across. Honest John Carr has joined the ranks of the "great majority" and soon the last of those who risked their lives to make men free will be in the undiscovered country, from whence no traveler returns.

Jefferson County. To John G. Sering, Clerk. To registering Negroes and Mullattoes, from Nos. 105-114, and making out certificates for same, making 9 @ \$1.00 each. 9.00

State of Indiana, Jefferson County, I, John G. Sering, Clerk of Jefferson Circuit Court do hereby certify that the foregoing amount is justly due me for registering negroes and mullattoes in said county. Witness my hand this 30th day of January 1855, and the seal of said court.

LETTER**ILDEFONZO, NEW MEXICO, July 10, 1907 to;

My Dear Miss Cravens, Your letter is received and I cannot express how deeply I regret my inability to aid you in search of material for your forth coming book. I wish the history of those Anti-Slavery times might be preserved. I was a very, very little girl then and had no knowledge of the events. My father, Lyman W. Hoyt, died before it was safe for him openly to acknowledge his share in the work. I have a sister, older than I, living in Kansas City, who had some knowledge of what was going on, and was used sometimes, unknown to herself, to perform services in the cause, to divert notice from suspected persons. Mrs. Laura H. King, 3110 N. Meridian, Indianapolis, may possibly have some memories. She it was who gave the book you examined to the State Library. Her father was Benjamin Hoyt, my father's brother. However, I will give you a few recollections truly as I can remember, most of which were told by our mother and she was not knowing to everything. Not to

increase her material solicitude, matters were withheld from her besides it was the policy of the actors to keep the knowledge confined to as few as possible.

One incident of Eleutherian College beginning is distinct in my memory. A negro girl sought entrance to the school and was admitted. Her home was in Tennessee and of course she must find room and lodging. The same were given her at my father's house in return for such help as she could give my mother out of school hours.

Her name was Letty Harris and the first negro applicant for school privileges/ How she ever found her way from Tennessee to Lancaster I do not know. The school was on one side of the creek and our house on the other. A footlog enabled us to cross. Some one or ones objected to this manner of affording uplifting and friendly help to a friendless negro, threw down the footlog and overturned the outhouse used by the school. No notice was taken of the deed and the warning was unheeded. The school went on and my father took his flock of children and the negro girl across in his wagon. The log and outhouse was not replaced for sometime.

One night a runaway negro was brought to my father who took him further to a cousin and said, "You are not yet suspected, you must take this man on to the next station. I shall be pursued and overtaken." My father returned to his home and the next day went about his usual duties. Before the morning was far advanced the sheriff from Madison appeared. My father, tho aware of the sheriff's suspicions, gave no sign. At dinner time their uninvited guest was asked to eat. He accepted and spent the remainder of the day at my father's place of business. In the evening he returned to Madison and reported that "Hoyt does not anything about that runaway nigger."

Once a decoy negro was sent to my father in order to prove a case against him but providentially he suspected a trick and was not caught.

John Tibbets who died in January 1907 was in the business.

A slave holding family from the far south, no names remembered, was accustomed to spending the summers north (at Louisville, I think). They brought a trusted manservant along. He overheard it said, on one occasion, "this is your last visit." To himself he said "this is my last opportunity for escape." When time for the family to return home, he was told to load their goods on a waiting boat. He did so but before the family arrived he walked down to the water, took a canoe fastened there and rowed up river. He made a landing a little below Madison. Saturday eve, he entered the town. He was very well dressed. He met a man on the street and enquired for a respectable colored family with whom a colored gentleman might spend the Sabbath. He was directed to one deBaptiste, who brought him forthwith to my father. His journey further north continued without delay. On his return, DeBaptiste met the sheriff and his posse. They demanded of him where he had left the fugitive. He said at James Nelson's. They rode on post haste for my uncles, not delaying at our house. Meanwhile, the slave was gaining time towards the happy land where colored men were free.

There was not a more efficient nor more diligent laborer in the field than was my uncle, James Nelson. He had more leisure and was not so generally suspected as was my father, for this reason more of the cases were conducted by him than by any one else. The rumor that there were secret rooms in the college is untrue.

END OF LETTER FROM MISS HOYT

TRIAL OF CHAPMAN HARRIS. May 15, 1838.

Mark Mc Nulty

vs

Before Squire M.D.Brooks

Chapman Harris

Chapman Harris the above named defendent being duly sworn on his oath saith that Alfred W. Robinson is a material witness for him on the trial above case, that he can not safely go to trial without this testimony, that he can prove by said Robinson that he employed the said Robinson to take down the stone work, or place, put up or erected by one Abel Hasla. Or so much thereof as the said Mark. Mc Nulty might or should consider necessary to be taken down to enable said Nulby to erect, put up, or build thereon such a stone wall as the said McNulty could insure, and that said Robinson did take down said wall or work so done and put up by said Hasla until he was directed by said McNulty to stop, that he does not know of another person by whom he can prove the same facts, that he had a supoenā issued for said Robinson to appear as a witness this day, which was returned, not found, that said Robinson resides as he believes in Indianapolis, Indiana, and he believes if a reasonable time is given him to do so, he can procure the testimony of said Robinson that this is not made for delay but for the furtherance of justice. Subscribed and sworn to before me this 15th day of May 1838. M. D. Brooks, J.P. Chapman (X) Harris, his mark.

To Jesse Connell, Greetings: State of Indiana, Jefferson County. We command you that the body of Charlotte (a woman of color) under your custody as is said detained under safe and secure conduct, together with the day and cause of her being taken and detained by whatsoever name the said Charlotte may be charged, you have before Dawson Blackmore, one of the Associate Judges of the Circuit Court for the county aforesaid at the office of M. G. Bright in Madison. Immediately after the receipt of this writ, then and there to do and be subject to whatever the said Judge shall consider in that behalf. Witness; John H. Taylor, Clerk of said court, at Madison this 17th day of November 1835.

(On back of the above order is written:

In obedience to the command of the within writ, I have the within Charlotte, a woman of color, before your honor and as cause of capture and detention set forth, that I have captured and detained her as a fugitive from labor, from the stat of Kentucky, under the act of Congress, approved 12 February 1793, entitled an act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from the service of their masters.

The State of Indiana, Jefferson County,

I do certify that Thomas Carrico, of the state of Kentucky, and county of Gallatin, appeared before me this day and made complaint that a certain Sarah, a woman of color, owed him service and had escaped from labor in the state of Kentucky-Whereupon I caused the said Sarah to come before me and on hearing the proof, adduced on the part of the said Thomas Carrico in favor of his said claim to the service of the said Sarah,-I am of the opinion from all the said evidence that the said Sarah owes service to the said Thomas as a slave in the said state of Kentucky, given under my hand and seal this 27th day of September 1825.

State of Indiana, Jefferson County;

I do certify that Nancy Williamson, a woman of color, has been raised in mh family from the age of four years, her mother was a free woman and Nancy is and always has been free. John Sering. Personally appeared before me this 28th day of April 1832.

Part of an article from the Madison newspaper, badly torn and parts missing.

HO! LO! Don't you hear me "nigh", the Kingdom's coming by and by! Holly also wore a high silk hat and conventional black. I mean the kind they wore in Black Republican Convention--and you ought to have gazed upon him when he appeared as an impersonator or the "King Bee".

Silk hat slipped to one side, clothing faultless, with a sunflower for a button hole bouquet and shoes shinning as bright as a Dago's eye, and the swath he would cut from Broadway up on the south side of Main to West Steet, bowing to all right and left until he would disappear around the corner down West Street to the river. After the people would recover their equilibrium, they simply looked at each other for a moment and asked "Did you see him?" and laugh heartily.

I started with Evans but somehow got on to Holley. Well, Louis Evans prospered in the shoe business. He had a son Willam Evans, a tall, good looking man, whom everybody liked as he had sufficient education to know his place and keep it. I believe that William Evan's widow or sister is still living on West Street, near the city hall in Madison. William Evans has long since passed over and is resting in the shade on the sunny side of Jordan. At last a change came over the feeling amongst the people of Madison toward the black man. There was a great influx of southern people in Madison. Some from Baltimore among them were the Godman's who were natural born negro-haters. These people worked up a sentiment in the city detrimental to the welfare of Evans and his race and the white people were organized to make war on the black. The first attack was made in force upon a despised and desperate negro named "Amos". The attacking party was led by one of the Baltimorians--a Godman, when the attack was made upon Amos's citadel, the old black man, as brave as a lion, gave the mob such a warm reception, and the Captain in command received a bullet wound in his arm, causing a cessation of hostilitie for a time. The mob was determined to rid Madison of all negros. They marched a number of negros to the river and (balance of article missing)

DELIA WEBSTER NOTES.

June 21, 1854. Great excitement in Bedford, KY. Delia Webster as most of our readers know, was indited some years ago in Fayette County, KY for stealing a number of slaves. She was convicted and sentenced to the Pen. of Kentucky for a term of two years and was pardoned by Gov. Crittenden after she had served the state for a small portion of time she was sentenced for. Recently some of the inditments have been revived and a warrant was issued for the apprehension of Miss Webster. A guard of three men were appointed to watch her, slept at their posts and Miss W. escaped on the Underground Railroad, It is rumored that Mr. Craig of Milton had written Judge Prier stating that a party of men from Madison had released her.

Miss W. some ten years ago was indited for running away slaves and aiding them to escape. She was tried, convicted for ten years in the KY State Prison, was pardoned and shortly went east where she established herself as a deaguerreo typist and manufacturer of Sindoe shades. She was later induced by Mr. Craig to abandon this business and to come to Madison and to continue the same business here. The latter proving unprofitable. Mr. Craig rented a house for her and placed his children with her to board and be instructed by her. After a year Mr. Craig and Miss Webster had a difficulty and their friendly relations terminated. From here Miss Webster removed to a farm she had purchased in Kentucky, in the spring of 1853, where she resided up to the time she was driven away by Craig. A short time ago, the Courier reported that Miss Webster had been arrested and was in the county jail of Trimble County, and was discharged by the the judge there.

The persecutors revived the old indictments and warrants were issued for her arrest, but she escaped to Indiana. The persecutors again issued warrants for her arrest (assisted by the governors of Indiana and Kentucky) and she was arrested on these warrants and petitioned for a Writ of Habeas Corpus which was granted by Judge Walker. The trial was on the return of the Writ. Messrs. M. G. Bright and Jos. W. Chapman appeared for the persecution and Dunn and Hendricks, with Jos G. Marshall for the defense.

The violation of the laws of the state of Indiana by Craig and his comrades, in wearing concealed weapons, in flourishing them before the eyes of the citizens, with no provocation, their boasting of their Kentucky power, their contempt for Hoosiers, and their charges of abolitionism and negro stealing upon the people of this city and state caused some excitement on the landing yesterday evening, resulting in the whipping of the negro drivers, who accompanied Craig, as witnesses or friends, and the shooting of Craig by a Kentuckian who we believe lived in the place Miss Webster owns on the top of the hill opposite, until he was driven off by Craig.

This man was arrested. Craig was shot an hour after his friends attempted to draw a weapon on a citizen, and after his friends, bowie knives and revolver in hand, were severely punished for their conduct. Craig, after he was wounded, was carried to the residence of General Stapp, where Dr. Wm. Davidson probed and dressed the wound. Craig was summoned to testify to the identity of Miss Webster.

August 9, 1854. Miss Webster was discharged by an abolitionist Judge, holding that there was not sufficient charge specified in the warrant of the Governor of Indiana to authorize her conviction under the statutes of Kentucky.

EXTRACT FROM ARTICLE IN THE "CROSSROADS: JAN-MARCH 1955 Presbyterian Quarterly. Perhaps the most thrilling and interesting facts about the spirituals is their use as wireless telegraphy to aid the Underground Railway. It was no hard task to send a message a hundred miles by prearranged use of certain of the Spirituals. Since everyone loved to hear the slaves sing, they simply chose the most obvious method of communication. No one could anticipate the preparation of untoward events from a group of slaves sitting around the fire at night, assuaging their sorrow in song. Little did the slaveholder or the overseer know that slaves made plans to escape right under their noses--sometimes while singing at a reception up at the big mansion. Frequently when they sang "Steal Away to Jesus" it meant "Tonight is the night on which the Underground Railroad will operate". Beginning quietly and then rising in crescendo, the message went out across the river, over the hills, and down the valley, bringing joy and hope to all who heard it.

But there had to be an answering song in the code to tell them that everything was all right--that the plot had not been discovered. It was then that the joyous lifted their voices in thunderous appeals of "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot" However, if something had gone wrong or if the plot might be in danger of discovery, or if they suspected that there were untrustworthy spies among them, they sang "Dere's No Hidin' Place Down Dere". The meaning was obvious enough. "Let us Cheer the Weary Traveler Along The Heavenly Way" was often used to convey to escaped or runaway slaves who might possibly have not made their next Underground Station that if they were lost, tired, hungry, or ill, all they had to do was to make themselves known.

THE MADISON COURIER, JULY 5, 1889

DEATH OF A COLORED VETERAN.

Griffith Booth, an old time colored citizen of Madison, died at his residence in Kalamazoo, Michigan, on the 1st. Mr. Booth was for many years identified with the underground railroad during the days of slavery, and more than one colored man owes his escape from the thralldom of slavery and his safe arrival in Canada to the guidance of Griffith Booth. In fact, it was the energy with which he worked "the road" that made it too hot for him to remain in this city longer, and he was forced to take refuge in Canada away back in 1848, where he remained until the war of the rebellion made it possible for him to live in the land of his nativity with safety. He was himself a born slave and knew the burden of wearing the yoke, which made him enthusiastic in assisting others to escape as he had done. He lived in this city for many years and was well known to all of our older citizens. He was made to suffer on more than one occasion by the pro-slavery advocates and hunters of runaway negroes from Kentucky. He is the colored man that Marshall Amzi Foster and John Sheets rescued from a mob at the risk of their own lives, after he had been taken to the river and ducked until he was almost dead, in order to force him to divulge the hiding place of several slaves who had made their way from Kentucky to this side of the river to take the underground road to Canada and freedom under his guidance. He was for years a faithful carriage driver of Mr. Victor King, and after his death the children of Mr. King sent his gold-headed cane to Booth, who carried it until the day of his death. But few of his comrades in those trying times remain; all we can now call to mind are the venerable Chapman Harris and Horace Stapp. He was frequently employed at the old Banner office during the ownership of that paper by the late D.D. Jones, as pressman, when the paper was printed on the old fashioned hand press, and the writer was roller boy and printers devil; and we well remember the tales he told us of the horrors of slavery during the lonely hours of the night as we were alone working off the paper for distribution in the morning. He was true to his convictions of what was right, and faithful to every trust imposed upon him. He must have been nearly ninety years of age at the time of his death.







